TABLE TALK:

BEING THE

DISCOURSES

OF

JOHN SELDEN, ESQ.

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JOHN SELDEN, ESQ.

OR,

HIS SENSE

OF VARIOUS MATTERS OF WEIGHT AND HIGH CONSEQUENCE, RELATING ESPECIALLY TO *RELIGION AND STATE.*

A NEW EDITION.

WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AND NOTES.

DISTINGUE TEMPORA.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

MR. JUSTICE HALES,

One of the Judges of the Common-Pleas:

AND TO THE MUCH HONOURED

EDWARD HAYWOOD, JOHN VAUGHAN, AND ROWLAND JEWKS, ESQUIRES.

MOST WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

WERE you not executors to that person, who, while he lived, was the glory of the nation; yet I am confident any thing of his would find acceptance with you, and truly the sense and notion here is wholly his, and most of the words. I had the opportunity to hear his discourse twenty years together, and lest all those excellent things that usually fell from him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faithfully committed to writing, which here digested into this method, I humbly present to your hands. You will quickly perceive them to be his by the familiar illustrations wherewith they are set off, and in which way you

know he was so happy, that (with a marvellous delight to those that heard him) he would presently convey the highest points of religion, and the most important affairs of state, to an ordinary apprehension.

In reading, be pleased to distinguish times, and in your fancy carry along with you the WHEN *and the* WHY, *many of these things were spoken; this will give them the more life, and the smarter relish. It is possible the entertainment you find in them may render you the more inclinable to pardon the presumption of*

Your most obliged and

Most humble Servant,

R. MILWARD.

THE

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN SELDEN.

It is natural for us, when we read the opinions of any person upon important subjects, especially such as are historical, to enquire who and what manner of man he was; for the degree of respect paid to his judgment will be in exact proportion to the rank he has attained in the scale of literary eminence, or to the part he has borne in the transactions on which his sentiments are given.

Few men of letters have been so conspicuous on the great theatre of the world as the subject of the present memoir. It was his fortune, not only to live in very turbulent times, but also to have an active share in raising that political tempest which eventually shook the constitution to its very basis, and deluged the land in blood.

To his observations, therefore, on men and things considerable deference is due; but to estimate them according to their true value, it will be necessary to be acquainted both with the leading circumstances of his life and the history of the period in which he lived.

For the first, the following sketch may be sufficient; and to attain the latter information, the reader would do well to consult CLARENDON.

JOHN SELDEN, who, on various accounts, has been justly called "the Glory of England," was born at Salvington, a village in Sussex, December 16, 1584. His ancestors, though not distinguished by rank or opulence, yet lived in good repute, upon their own land, and had done so for a long series of years, in that country. He was educated at the free-school of Chichester, where he gave, at the early age of ten, a promise of his future fame, in a Latin epigram, which was inscribed over the door of his Father's house.

At fourteen he was entered of Hart-hall, Oxford; but having adopted the law for his profession, he continued there only four years, and then removed to Clifford's Inn; and in May, 1604, he was elected a member of the society of the Inner Temple.

The high credit of the bar at that time is, in a great degree, to be attributed to the Inns of Court receiving none but such as came from one of the universities. A learned foundation being thus laid, and a habitude of study understood, there was the less chance of the honours of the robe being disgraced, than there could be by the admission of students without this qualification.

Mr. Selden was indefatigable in his application to studies of the severest kind, and improved his time and opportunities to the best advantage. At an age when even young men of talents are too generally dis-

posed to trifling persuits, if not to vicious pleasures, he had made his way through the most intricate paths of learning, and acquired a stock of knowlege, which men far advanced in years and literary fame might have envied. In 1606, he had drawn up an historical treatise on the Civil Government of this island before the coming in of the Normans. When we consider that the author was at that time only twenty-two years of age, this production excites great admiration, as a proof of the penetrating powers of his mind, and the variety of learning with which it was then furnished. This performance was not printed till 1616, when it appeared at Frankfort, in 4to.

In 1612, he published notes and illustrations on the first eighteen songs in his worthy friend Michael Drayton's Polyolbion, and the year after prefixed complimentary verses, in Greek, Latin, and English, upon William Browne's Britannia's Pastorals. For these poetic effusions he was honoured by Sir John Suckling with a place in his 'Session of the English Poets;' and it must be allowed that he merited the distinction as justly as the principal part of those in whose company he was numbered, and to the full as much as the ingenious knight himself. Of this the reader may judge from the pieces appended to this account.

In 1614, he favoured the world with his 'Titles of Honour,' perhaps the most known and best esteemed of all his English works. This was followed by his notes on that valuable treatise of Sir John Fortescue 'de Laudibus Angliæ Leges,' &c. 8vo. 1616; and the

year after appeared his learned disquisition 'de Diis Syris,' &c. or, a Treatise on the Idolatry of the Antient Syrians; and about the same time he wrote a Dissertation on the State of the Jews formerly living in England, which was inserted in Purchas's Collection of Voyages.

The next year he rendered himself still more conspicuous by his 'History of Tythes,' in which he proves the right of the church to the tenth of increase on legal grounds *alone*. The book at first was thought to be favourable to the ecclesiastical establishment, and the archbishop's chaplain, without any scruple or suspicion, licensed it for the press. Soon after its publication, however, some discerning readers, interested, no doubt, in the subject, perceived that the author's principal drift was to invalidate the favourite plea of the clergy, that the tythes are their due by *divine right*. The book was, therefore, complained against, as being injurious to the interests of the church, and the author was, in consequence, called into the High Commission Court, where he found it prudent to make the following submission:

"My good Lords,

"I most humbly acknowledge my error, which I have committed in printing the History of Tythes, and especially in that I have at all, by shewing any interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, by meddling with councils, fathers, or canons, or by what else soever occurring in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the gospel,

beseeching your Lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief, for that through it I have so incurred both his Majesty's and your Lordships' displeasure conceived against me, in behalf of the church of England. J. SELDEN."

Several divines drew their pens in vindication of what concerned them so much, the principal of whom were Dr. Tillesley, Mr. Montague, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and Mr. Nettles; but the advantage was clearly on the side of Mr. Selden's argument, and, perhaps, on the whole, a better defence of the ecclesiastical claim is not to be found than this very book.

It is said that king James was so highly offended with the lawyer for going out of the line of his profession, that he strictly forbade him, on pain of his heavy displeasure, to answer any of his opponents. And yet he seems to have had a good opinion of the man, for having observed a doubt suggested in his history respecting the true date of Christ's nativity, he enjoined him to examine into the point more closely. The royal mandate was readily obeyed, and in less than a month a discourse on the subject was presented to the monarch, but it did not appear in public till 1661.

The king having asserted in a speech to his uncomplying parliament of 1621, that all their privileges, for which they so much contended, were originally but so many grants from the crown, and, consequently, might be resumed at pleasure, the Lords justly alarmed, consulted Mr. Selden, whose opinion being very contrary

to that of James, he was committed prisoner to the care of the sheriff of London. To this wanton stretch of arbitrary power, in conjunction with the mortification which his vanity received in the High Commission, may be attributed that persevering opposition, which he ever afterwards maintained to the measures of the court.

By the mediation of bishop Williams, then Lord Keeper, he was discharged from confinement at the end of five weeks, and in gratitude to this prelate for his good offices on this occasion, he dedicated to him, in 1623, his History of Eadmer.

In the parliament of that year he was chosen to represent the borough of Lancaster, and about the same time was appointed by his society their reader, at Lyon's Inn, which office he declined.

In the first two parliaments of king Charles, he sat member for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire, and was the first person chosen on the committee to prepare articles of impeachment against George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and manager at his trial, which measure was frustrated by a dissolution, June 15, 1626.

In the third parliament of this reign he again sat for Lancaster, and acted with the same party, and with the same firmness which he had adopted at the commencement of his public life. The famous *Petition of Right* was owing very much to his ability and zeal, and this great boundary to the regal prerogative being fixed, he retired to Wrest, in Bedfordshire, the seat of the Earl of Kent, where he put the finishing hand to his

commentaries on the Arundelian marbles, a work of immense erudition.

When the parliament again met he still conducted himself on the same principles, and that too with more intemperance than he had before manifested; for he was one of the most active of those members, who forcibly obliged the speaker to continue in the chair, after the king's message to the house prohibiting its sitting. For this he was committed to the Tower, and had his study sealed up. He was kept prisoner for three months; but was magnificently maintained, all the time, at the king's expence.

The judges offering to discharge him October 3, 1629, on giving security for his good behaviour, he refused the terms as being unwarranted by law. In consequence of this refusal he was removed to the King's-Bench prison, where he continued above a year, but had the full liberty of the Rules. While he was under this restraint, he wrote his learned treatise, 'de Successionibus in Bona Defuncti, secundum Leges Hebræorum:' and at this time he was prosecuted in the Star Chamber, for being concerned in writing and circulating a libel, entitled, 'A Proposition for His Majesty's Service, to bridle the Impertinency of Parliament.' The Earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. St. John, were also imprisoned on the same charge: but it was afterwards discovered that Sir Robert Dudley, then resident in the Duke of Tuscany's dominions, was the real author of the pamphlet.

On the birth of prince Charles, in 1630, the king ordered this prosecution to be discharged, and in the

general joy occasioned by that event our author was removed to the Gate-house, by which means he got liberty to pass the vacation at Wrest. But the Michaelmas term following, the judges complained of the illegality of his removal to the Gate-house, and, therefore, remanded him to close confinement in his former prison. Here he continued till May 1631, when he was admitted to bail, which was renewed from term to term, till July 1634, when he was finally discharged by the special interposition of his friend archbishop Laud.

During these perplexities he still continued his learned researches, and wrote several valuable books, on various curious branches of the civil law of the Hebrews.

He began now to grow into favour at court, which may principally be attributed to the great but unfortunate prelate just mentioned.

The queen was very fond of theatrical entertainments, and the party in opposition to the court were, in general, very adverse to them as heathenish abominations and defilements of the land. William Prynne, the fanatic scribbler of Lincoln's-Inn, endeavoured to aid this elegant antipathy, by an enormous book called 'Histriomastix, or a Scourge for Stage Players.' In this performance he threw out many indecent invectives against her Majesty, whom he treated almost as another Jezebel, leading Ahab and his people to destruction. This production of a lawyer had considerable effect, especially when it was strengthened by the anathemas and lamentations of the popular pulpits.

By way of shewing their aversion to this gloomy preciseness, the four law societies determined on exhibiting a masque for the entertainment of the court, which was done with great splendour, on Candlemas eve, 1633, and gave such satisfaction that the king desired it might be repeated for the amusement of the city of London. In the management of these performances, Mr. Selden had a principal share.

But, whatever pleasure he might give to the court by his taste on this occasion, he rendered it a more acceptable piece of service about this time, by asserting the sovereignty of the British seas against Grotius. The Dutch had long been in the habit of fishing upon our coast, without making any acknowlegement for the favour, and at length were grown so bold and numerous, as to prevent the British fishermen from quietly exercising their employment. To support their usurpation, Grotius wrote his treatise entitled *Mare Liberum*, which was answered by Mr. Selden in another, entitled *Mare Clausum*, printed in 1636, and in such reputation was it held, that the king caused a copy of it to be laid up with the records of the crown, another in the council-chest, another in the court of Exchequer, and one in the court of Admiralty. That same year the Dutch agreed to pay 30,000l. for leave to fish in the British seas, and to continue that sum annually.

It ought to be observed, however, that this condescension was not the effect of Mr. Selden's irresistible arguments, as it is not very likely that a Dutchman would be convinced in such a way, when his in-

terest was concerned; but it was owing to the more powerful exertions of Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, high admiral of England, who, the same summer, took and destroyed great numbers of the Dutch busses.

A historian, extremely well-informed, tells us that the service rendered by Mr. Selden to the English nation, "was as grateful as the author was acceptable, from henceforth both a frequent and welcome guest at Lambeth-house, where he was grown into such esteem with the archbishop, that he might have chosen his own preferment in the court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in respect of his studies. But possibly (observes the same writer) there might be some other reason for his declining such employments as the court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his history of Tythes, (for in the notion of affronts he beheld them always) and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himself on the church and churchmen, the king being took into the reckoning." *

The confidence which archbishop Laud had of his integrity, and the high opinion which he justly entertained of his abilities, induced him to recommend him to the university of Oxford, (of which his grace was then chancellor) to be their representative in the par-

* Heylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 300, 1671.

in...ent of 1640. He was accordingly elected for that university both in that and in the long parliament; but he still spoke and acted with the same freedom as usual; and what may be considered as extraordinary, not only took part in the prosecution of the great Lord Strafford, but also in that of the archbishop, though it must be allowed that he was not equally active in both causes.

He was, moreover, very zealous in depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, though he well knew that their right to them was indubitable, and he himself has proved it by some very strong observations in his Table-talk. I am afraid that he is not quite free from the charge of hypocrisy in this case, nor will the consideration of his book, written in behalf of the Presbyterian order about this time, serve to take off the weight of this charge, for most undoubtedly his private sentiment was in favour of episcopacy.

Such an instance as this will be sufficient to prove, that patriotic pretensions are to be trusted with great caution, when they are united with an invariable opposition to the ruling powers, and a ready compliance to the popular prejudices.

Mr. Selden was clearly a man of constitutional principles, and in his mind attached to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and yet he acted with men who were enemies to the one and the other, and aided, by his public speeches and his pen, those measures which he knew tended to ruin what he admired, and to bring in a system which he despised.

But notwithstanding this blameable acquiescence to

to the unconstitutional encroachments of the people, it must be observed, that in one instance he maintained the right of the crown with firmness. This was on the agitation of that important question, "whether the parliament should not take the militia out of the hands of the king?"

Sir Edward Littleton, the Lord Keeper, gave his voice for the measure, but Mr Selden steadily opposed it.

On another occasion we find him making use of his ingenuity in behalf of the persecuted church of England, though it is to be doubted whether he acted from any better motive than a desire of shewing his wit. Let this be as it may, the circumstance is too amusing to be omitted.

Feb. 1, 1640. 1. When the remonstrance of the puritan ministers against the ecclesiastical government was read in the House of Commons, Mr. Harbottle Grimstone argued in the following curious manner:

"That bishops are *jure divino* is a question: that archbishops are not *jure divino* is out of the question.

"Now that bishops which are questioned, whether *jure divino*, or archbishops, which, out of question, are not *jure divino*, should suspend ministers that are *jure divino*, I leave to you Mr. Speaker."

On this Mr. Selden immediately rose, and replied as follows:

"That the convocation is *jure divino* is a question.

"That parliaments are not *jure divino* is out of the question.

"That religion is *jure divino* there is no question.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, that the convocation, which is questionable whether *jure divino*, and parliaments, which out of question are not *jure divino*, should meddle with religion, which, questionless, is *jure divino*, I leave to you, Mr. Speaker."

To which Mr. Grimstone replied:

"But archbishops are not bishops, Mr. Speaker."

And to this Mr. Selden as quickly rejoined:

"That, Mr. Speaker, is no otherwise true, than that judges are no lawyers, and aldermen no citizens."

About this time we find him lying under the suspicion of loyalty, and actually implicated in a charge to give up the city of London to the king, from which accusation he was mean enough to purge himself by oath. Certain it is, the royal party thought him favourable to their side, or at least that he was easy to be won over by allurements, and, therefore, the *great seal* was tendered to him, which he refused to accept.

If this refusal did him honour, I am sure his acceptance of a seat in the assembly of divines at Westminster did him none. Of this synod he appears to have had a very contemptible opinion, and that justly; for, except himself and Dr. Lightfoot, there were very few of its members, who possessed a decent share of sacred learning. Mr. Selden was very fond of puzzling these grave divines with curious questions, which he knew they could not solve, especially concerning the ecclesiastical polity of the Hebrews, of which they professed themselves to be great admirers. One in-

stance of his wit will, perhaps, serve to amuse the reader, and give him a pretty just idea of this reverend assembly.

The ministers were one day engaged for a long time in ascertaining the exact distance between some place on the sea-coast and Jerusalem: at last one member was so fortunate as to discover that *fish* was frequently carried from thence to the metropolis, and it was consequently concluded that the distance could not be above *thirty miles*. This was about to be adopted, when Mr. Selden very unluckily observed, that "in all probability it was *salt-fish!*"

He was one of the first who took the solemn league and covenant, that most abominable mockery of religion, devised and recommended to the parliament by the Westminster-synod; and at the same time was appointed keeper of the records in the Tower.

When the bill of attainder was passed against archbishop Laud, and the commissioners laid their harpy hands upon his noble endowment for the support of an Arabic lecture at Oxford, Mr. Selden exerted himself with great pains and success in rescuing it from them. But the archbishop himself, who had been so much his friend, and, indeed, the friend of learning and scholars in general, met with no pity from him, though he condescended to ask for a favour at his hands.

In 1645 he was one of the commissoners of the admiralty, and the same year was elected master of Trinity-Hall, Cambridge, which office he declined; and it will be difficult to account for his refusal of a situation so peculiarly favourable to a lover of learned

cave, unless we suppose that he found it more for his interest to be employed in public affairs.

In 1647 he was in the commission for receiving reports from the universities, and is said to have rendered some eminent services to Oxford, while in that situation.

The violent measures which were at this time persued against the king, gave him great uneasiness, though we do not find him taking any part to save that unfortunate monarch. He seems, however, to have been disgusted with his coadjutors, and, to his credit, refused repeated solicitations which were made to him by Cromwell, to answer the Εικων Βασιλικη, and in consequence of his refusal that disgrace devolved upon Milton.

After the melancholy catastrophe of January 30, 1648, Mr. Selden retired wholly from public business, and devoted the remainder of his days to contemplation and study.

In 1650 appeared the first part of his treatise "de Synedriis et Prefecturis Hebræorum," to which he added a second part in 1653.

In 1652 he published his *Decem Scriptores Anglicani*, and the year following made his will.

His health declined so rapidly in 1654, that every appearance indicated his great change to be fast approaching, and of this he was himself so sensible, that he sent for his venerable friends, archbishop Usher and Dr. Gerard Langbaine, with whom he discoursed seriously on the vanity of learning, and declared that

"all his hopes of salvation rested upon the promises of the Scriptures."

This is an exemplary lesson for scholars, and joined with the instances of Bacon, Grotius, and Newton, will be found more than a counterbalance for all the great names who have closed their days in the gloomy uncertainty of infidelity.

Being desirous of making some alterations in his will, he wrote the following letter to Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq. which was the last production of his pen:

"My Lord,

"I am a most humble suitor to your Lordship, that you would be pleased that I might have your presence for a little time to-morrow or next day. Thus much wearies the most weak hand and body of

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

J. SELDEN."

This letter is dated November 10, 16[illegible] from White Friars, where he had resided for several years, in the house of Elizabeth, Countess-Dowager of Kent, who appointed him the executor of her will, as he had for a long time before managed her affairs.

When Mr. Whitelocke came to him he was sunk so low as to be incapable of making the alterations he wanted.

He died on the thirtieth of the same month, and was buried in the Temple-church, archbishop Usher preaching his funeral sermon at the time of interment.

Mr. Selden was one of the few scholars who have turned their talents to their worldly advantage, for he

died very rich, and it is surely not uncharitable to observe, that the part he acted in the great political changes of his day was very favourable to the accumulation of wealth.

He left a large, and of course a valuable and curious library to his executors, who, with great liberality, offered it to the society of which he had so many years been a honourable member, on condition that a suitable building should be erected to preserve it. This being neglected, it was conferred on the university of Oxford.

Mr. Selden wrote his own epitaph, which was inscribed on his monument in the Temple-church, and it is some proof that the love of fame prevailed in him to the last.

Lord Clarendon has given him a very great, but then it is a general character, well suited to the noble dignity of that eminent historian. "Mr. Selden," he says, "was a person whom no character can flatter or transmit, in any expressions, even to his merit and his virtue. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale."

A contemporary writer, and what is still more observable, a compatriot too, mentions him with less admiration and respect. This is Sir Simon D'Ewes, who, in his diary, says of him, "that he was more learned than pious, being a man exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities."

His real character may be appreciated with no great

difficulty, and at present it is no merit to do it with impartiality.

In his disposition he appears to have been a cynic, possessing great powers both of conception and expression, but certainly he had none of those qualities which constitute an amiable man.

He was lofty in his sentiments, quick in resentment, and very dogmatical in the delivery of his opinions.

His own interest he seems to have very assiduously courted, even at the expence of his private judgment, and was too proud to retreat from a course and company of which in reality he was ashamed.

Such is the view which this little book enables us to form of the mind of him, who is, undoubtedly, entitled to very great admiration, as having, by his penetrating understanding and laborious researches, enriched the stock of literature, and conferred a lasting honour on his country.

As a writer his excellencies are, a great judgment, an extensive reading, a minuteness of examination, and a logical preciseness; but then his style is mean, his sentences are long and awkwardly constructed, and his language is the reverse of elegance: even his Latin works, where one should have expected him more at home, correspond exactly with this character, only with the addition, that they are more obscure.

His favourite motto was

Περι παντος την ελευθεριαν.

Liberty above all things.

On which a very pleasing writer well observes, "that

this little word, which has occasionally afforded so much good, and done so much harm, to mankind, Mr. Selden took, according to Tully's definition of it, to be the power of doing that which the laws permit." *

All his works were collected and published with great care and elegance, by Dr. David Wilkins, in six volumes folio, 1725.

The present little work was first printed in 1689, in 4to. by Richard Milward, who was Mr. Selden's amanuensis, and of course possessed all those opportunities which were requisite to form such a collection, and which he improvod in such a manner as to entitle him to grateful respect.

The authors of the *Leipsic Acts of the Learned*, however, condemned the book as spurious, on the ground that it contains some sentiments contrary to what may be found in our author's works, and others that are unworthy of him. In this opinion they were followed by Dr. Wilkins, and by the author of Mr. Selden's life in the Biographia Britannica. This is not the only instance in which the decrees of *literary journalists* have been rejected by the public, for the book soon gained a distinguished reputation, and a second edition appeared in 1695, 8vo. and a third in 12mo. 1716; since which it has been frequently reprinted, and always with success.

The opinion of Dr. Johnson is decisive on its merits. Mr. Boswell relates the following conversation between

* Mr. Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 87.

him and the doctor on the subject of French literature. "But the French," said I, "have the art of accommodating literature." *Johnson*—"Yes, sir, we have no such book as Moreri's Dictionary." *Boswell*—"Their *Ana* are good." *Johnson*—"A few of them are good; but we have one book of that kind *better than any of them*—SELDEN'S TABLE-TALK." *

Of the present edition little need to be said. It was conceived that some observations required illustration, chiefly with respect to persons and circumstances. A few notes are, therefore, added, purposely short, as best suited to the nature of the work.

TO MICHAEL DRAYTON, ESQ.

BY MR. JOHN SELDEN.

I must admire thee: (but to praise were vain,
 What every tasting palate so approves)---
Thy martial pyrrhic, and thy epic strain,
 Digesting wars with heart-uniting loves,
The two first authors of what is compos'd
 In this round system all; its ancient lore,
All arts, in discords and concents, are clos'd---
 (And when unwinged souls the fates restore
To th' earth, for reparation of their flights,
 The first musicians, scholars, lovers, make
The next rank destinate to Mars's knights;
 The following rabble meaner titles take)---
I see thy temples crown'd with Phœbus' rites,
 Thy bay's to th' eye with lily mix'd and rose,
 As to th' ear a *diapason* close.

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* Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, p. 321.

TO MR. WILLIAM BROWNE.

BY THE SAME.

So much a stranger my severer muse,
Is not to love-strains, or a shepherd's reed,
But that she knows some rites of Phœbus' dues,
Of Pan, of Pallas, and her sisters meed.
Read, and commend, she durst, these tun'd essays
Of him that loves her (she hath ever found
Her studies as one circle). Next she prays,
His readers be with rose and myrtle crown'd!
No willow touch them! As his bays are free
From wrong of bolts, so may their chaplets be.

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* Bays (fair readers) being the materials of poets' garlands, (as myrtles and roses are for enjoying lovers, and the fruitless willow for them which your inconstancy too oft makes most unhappy) are supposed not subject to any hurt of Jove's thunderbolts, as other trees are. SELDEN.

THE DISCOURSES
OF
JOHN SELDEN.

ABBIES, PRIORIES, &c.

THE unwillingness of the monks to part with their land, will fall out to be just nothing, because they were yielded up to the king by a supreme hand, viz. a parliament. If a king conquer another country, the people are loth to lose their lands; yet no divine will deny but the king may give them to whom he please. If a parliament make a law concerning leather, or any other commodity, you and I, for example, are parliament men; perhaps in respect to our own private interests, we are against it, yet the major part conclude it: we are then involved, and the law is good.

2. When the founder of abbies laid a curse upon those that should take away those lands, I would fain know what power they had to curse me. 'Tis not the curses that come from the poor, or from any body, that hurt me, because they come from them; but because I do something ill against them, that deserves God should curse me for it. On the other side, it is not a man's blessing me that makes me blessed; he only declares me to be so: and if I do well I shall be blessed, whether any bless me or not.

3. At the time of dissolution, they were tender in taking from the abbots and priors their lands and their houses, till they surrendered them, as most of them did. Indeed the prior of St. John's, Sir Richard Weston, being a stout man, got into France, and stood out a whole year; at last submitted, and the king took in that priory also, to which the temple belonged, and many other houses in England. They did not then cry "no abbots, no priors," as we do now—"no bishops, no bishops."

4. Henry the fifth put away the friars aliens, and seized to himself 100,000l. a year; and, therefore, they were not the Protestants only that took away church lands.

5. In queen Elizabeth's time, when all the abbies were pulled down, all good works defaced, then the preachers must cry up justification by faith, not by good works.

ARTICLES.

1. THE nine and thirty articles are much another thing in Latin, (in which tongue they were made) than they are translated into English; they were made at three several convocations, and confirmed by act of parliament six or seven times after. There is a secret concerning them: of late ministers have subscribed to all of them; but by act of parliament that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those articles which contain matter of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as appears by the first subscriptions. But

bishop Bancroft * (in the convocation held in king James's days) began it, that ministers should subscribe to three things, to the king's supremacy, to the common prayer, and to the thirty-nine articles; many of them do not contain matter of faith. Is it matter of faith how the church should be governed? Whether infants should be baptized? Whether we have any property in our goods? &c.

BAPTISM.

1. 'TWAS a good way to persuade men to be christened, to tell them that they had a foulness about them, viz. original sin, that could not be washed away but by baptism.

2. The baptizing of children with us, does only prepare a child against he comes to be a man, to understand what Christianity means. In the church of Rome it hath this effect, it frees children from hell. They say they go into Limbus Infantum. It succeeds circumcision, and we are sure the child understood nothing of that at eight days old. Why then may not we as reasonably baptize a child at that age?

In England, of late years, I ever thought the parson baptized his own fingers rather than the child.

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* Dr. Richard Bancroft succeeded Dr. John Whitgift, in the archi-episcopal see of Canterbury A. D. 1604. The year before, when he was bishop of London, he bore an active part in the Hampton-Court conference, held by king James, to examine the scruples of the Puritans, and had the sole management of the convocation the same year in which the canons and constitutions of the church of England, as they now stand, were passed. He was a very learned and indefatigable prelate, and died Nov. 2. 1610.

3. In the primitive times they had godfathers to see the children brought up in the Christian religion; because many times, when the father was a Christian, the mother was not; and, sometimes, when the mother was a Christian, the father was not; and, therefore, they made choice of two or more that were Christians, to see their children brought up in that faith.

BASTARD.

1. 'Tis said the 23d of Deuteron. 2 (a bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation.) 'Non ingredietur in ecclesiam Domini,' he shall not enter into the church. The meaning of the phrase is, he shall not marry a Jewish woman. But upon this grossly mistaken; a bastard at this day, in the church of Rome, without a dispensation, cannot take orders; the thing haply well enough, where 'tis so settled; but that it is upon a mistake (the place having no reference to the church) appears plainly by what follows at the third verse (an Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation.) Now, you know with the Jews an Ammonite, or a Moabite, could never be a priest, because their priests were born so, not made.

BIBLE, SCRIPTURE.

1. 'Tis a great question how we know scripture to be scripture, whether by the church, or by man's private spirit. Let me ask you how I know any thing? how I know this carpet to be green? First, because

somebody told me it was green; that you call the church in your way. Then after I have been told it is green, when I see that colour again, I know it to be green, my own eyes tell me it is green; that you call the private spirit.

2. The English translation of the Bible is the best translation in the world, and renders the sense of the original best, taking in for the English translation, the bishop's bible, as well as king James's. The translators in king James's time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downes) * and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault they spoke; if not, he read on.

3. There is no book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French English ('Il fait froid') I say it is cold, not, it makes cold; but the Bible is rather translated into English words, than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept: as for example, 'he uncovered her shame,' which is well enough, so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it!

* Mr. Downes was Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Greek Professor of that University.

4. 'Scrutamini scripturas.' These two words have undone the world, because Christ spake it to his disciples; therefore, we must all, men, women, and children, read and interpret the scripture.

5. Henry the eighth made a law, that all men might read the scripture, except servants; but no woman, except ladies and gentlewomen, who had leisure, and might ask somebody the meaning. The law was repealed in Edward the sixth's days.

6. Lay-men have best interpreted the hard places in the Bible, such as Johannes Picus, Scaliger, Grotius, Salmasius, Heinsius, &c.

7. If you ask which of Erasmus, Beza, or Grotius, did best upon the New Testament, 'tis an idle question, for they all did well in their way. Erasmus broke down the first brick, Beza added many things, and Grotius added much to him, in whom we have either something new, or something heightened, that was said before, and so it was necessary to have them all three.

8. The text serves only to guess by, we must satisfy ourselves fully out of the authors that lived about those times.

9. In interpreting the scripture, many do, as if a man should see one have ten pounds, which he reckoned by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, meaning four, was but four unites, and five, five unites, &c. and that he had in all but ten pounds; the other that sees him, takes not the figures together as he doth, but picks here and there, and thereupon reports, that he hath five pounds in one bag, and six pounds in another bag,

and nine pounds in another bag, &c. when as in truth he hath but ten pounds in all. So we pick out a text here and there, to make it serve our turn; whereas, if we take it altogether, and considered what went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing.

10. Make no more allegories in scripture than needs must: the fathers were too frequent in them; they, indeed, before they fully understood the literal sense, looked out for an allegory. The folly whereof you may conceive thus: here, at the first sight, appears to me in my window a glass and a book. I take it for granted it is a glass and a book, thereupon I go about to tell you what they signify; afterwards, upon nearer view, they prove no such thing, one is a box made like a book, the other is a picture made like a glass. Where is now my allegory?

11. When men meddle with the literal text, the question is, where they should stop: in this case a man must venture his discretion, and do his best to satisfy himself and others in those places where he doubts, for although we call the scripture the word of God (as it is); yet it was written by a man, a mercenary man, whose copy, either might be false, or he might make it false: for example, here were a thousand Bibles printed in England with the text thus, 'Thou shalt commit adultery,' the word *not* left out. * Might not this text be mended?

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* This singular blunder was committed in 1632, when His Majesty, being made acquainted with it by Dr. Laud, bishop of London, order was given for calling the printers

12. The scripture may have more senses besides the literal, because God understands all things at once; but a man's writing has but one true sense, which is that which the author meant when he wrote it.

13. When you meet with several readings of the text, take heed you admit nothing against the tenets of your church; but do as if you were going over a bridge; be sure you hold fast by the rail, and then you may dance here and there as you please; be sure you keep to what is settled, and then you may flourish upon your various lections.

14. The Apocrypha is bound with the Bibles of all churches that have been hitherto. Why should we leave it out? The church of Rome has her Apocrypha viz. Susanna, and Bell and the Dragon, which she does not esteem equally with the rest of those books that we call Apocrypha.

BISHOPS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT.

1. A BISHOP, as a bishop, had never any ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for as soon as he was electus confirmatus, that is, after the three proclamations in Bow-church, he might exercise jurisdiction before he was consecrated; not till then, he was no bishop, neither could he give orders. Besides, Suffragans were bishops, and they never claimed any jurisdiction.

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into the *High Commission*, where, upon evidence of the fact, the whole impression was called in, and the printers deeply fined, as they justly merited. With some part of this fine, Laud caused a fair *Greek* character to be provided for publishing such MSS. as time and industry should make ready for the public view; of which sort were the *Catena* and *Theophylact* set out by *Lyndsell*. *Heylyn's Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 215.

2. Anciently, the noblemen lay within the city for safety and security. The bishops' houses were by the water side, because they were held sacred persons, which no body would hurt.

3. There was some sense for commendams at first; when there was a living void, and never a clerk to serve it, the bishops were to keep it till they found a fit man, but now 'tis a trick for the bishop to keep it for himself.

4. For a bishop to preach, is to do other folks' office, as if the steward of the house should execute the porter's or the cook's place; it is his business to see that they and all other about the house perform their duties.

5. That which is thought to have done the bishops hurt, is their going about to bring men to a blind obedience, imposing things upon them (though, perhaps, small and well enough) without preparing them, and insinuating into their reasons and fancies, every man loves to know his commander. I wear those gloves; but, perhaps, if an alderman should command me, I should think much to do it; what has he to do with me? Or if he has, peradventure I do not know it. This jumping upon things at first dash will destroy all; to keep up friendship, there must be little addresses and applications, whereas bluntness spoils it quickly: to keep up the hierarchy, there must be little applications made to men, they must be brought on by little and little: so in the primitive times the power was gained, and so it must be continued. Scaliger said of Erasmus: "Si minor esse voluit, major

fuisset." So we may say of the bishops, "Si minores esse voluerint, majores fuissent."

6. The bishops were too hasty, else with a discreet slowness they might have had what they aimed at: the old story of the fellow, that told the gentleman he might get to such a place, if he did not ride too fast, would have fitted their turn.

7. For a bishop to cite an old canon to strengthen his new articles, is as if a lawyer should plead an old statute that has been repealed God knows how long.

BISHOPS IN THE PARLIAMENT.

1. BISHOPS have the same right to sit in parliament as the best earls and barons, that is, those that were made by writ. If you ask one of them (Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland) why they sit in the house? they can only say their fathers sat there before them, and their grandfathers before them, &c. And so say the bishops, he that was a bishop of this place before me sat in the house, and he that was a bishop before him, &c. Indeed your later earls and barons have it expressed in their patents, that they shall be called to the parliament. Objection. But the lords sit there by blood, the bishops not. Answer. It is true, they sit not there both the same way; yet that takes not away the bishops' right: if I am a parson of a parish, I have as much right to my glebe and tythe as you have to your land, which your ancestors have had in that parish eight hundred years.

2. The bishops were not barons, because they had

baronies annexed to their bishoprics—(for few of them had so, unless the old ones, Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, &c. the new erected, we are sure, had none, as Gloucester, Peterborough, &c. besides, few of the temporal lords had any baronies). But they are barons, because they are called by writ to the parliament, and bishops were in the parliament ever since there was any mention or sign of a parliament in England.

3. Bishops may be judged by the peers, though in time of popery it never happened, because they pretended they were not obnoxious to a secular court, but their way to cry, 'Ego sum frater domini papæ,' 'I am brother to my lord the pope,' and therefore take not myself to be judged by you. In this case they impannelled a Middlesex jury, and dispatched the business.

4. Whether may bishops be present in cases of blood? Answ. That they had a right to give votes, appears by this, always when they did go out, they left a proxy, and in the time of the abbots, one man had 10, 20, or 30 voices. In Richard the second's time, there was a protestation against the canons, by which they were forbidden to be present in case of blood. The statute of 25th of Henry the eighth may go a great way in this business. The clergy were forbidden to use or cite any canon, &c. but in the latter end of the statute, there was a clause, that such canons, that were in usage in this kingdom, should be in force till the thirty-two commissioners appointed should make others, provided they were not contrary to the

king's supremacy. Now the question will be, whether these canons for blood were in use in this kingdom or no? The contrary whereof may appear by many precedents, in R. 3. and H. 7. and the beginning of H. 8. in which time there were more attainted than since, or scarce before: the canons of irregularity of blood were never received in England but upon pleasure. If a lay lord was attainted, the bishops assented to his condemning, and were always present at the passing of the bill of attainder: but if a spiritual lord, they went out as if they cared not whose head was cut off, so none of their own. In those days the bishops being of great houses, were often entangled with the lords in matters of treason. But when do ye hear of a bishop a traitor now?

5. You would not have bishops meddle with temporal affairs, think who you are that say it. If a Papist, they do in your church; if an English Protestant, they do among you; if a Presbyterian, where you have no bishops, you mean your Presbyterian lay elders should meddle with temporal affairs as well as spiritual. Besides, all jurisdiction is temporal, and in no church but they have some jurisdiction or other. The question then will be reduced to majus and minus; they meddle more in one church than in another.

6. Objection. Bishops give not their votes by blood in parliament, but by an office annexed to them, which being taken away, they cease to vote: therefore there is not the same reason for them as for temporal lords. Ans. We do not pretend they have that power the

same way, but they have a right: he that has an office in Westminster-hall for his life, the office is as much his as his land is his that hath land by inheritance.

7. Whether had the inferior clergy ever any thing to do in the parliament? Ans. No, no otherwise than thus, there were certain of the clergy that used to assemble near the parliament, with whom the bishops upon occasion might consult, (but there were none of the convocation, as it was afterwards settled, viz. the dean, the arch-deacon, one for the chapter, and two for the diocese) but it happened by continuance of time (to save charges and trouble) their voices and the consent of the whole clergy were involved in the bishops, and at this day the bishops' writs run to bring all these to the parliament, but the bishops themselves stand for all.

8. Bishops were formerly one of these two conditions, either men bred canonists and civilians, sent up and down ambassadors to Rome, and other parts, and so by their merit, came to that greatness; or else great noblemen's sons, brothers, and nephews, and so born to govern the state: now they are of a low condition, their education nothing of that way;—he gets a living, and then a greater living, and then a greater than that, and so comes to govern.

9. Bishops are now unfit to govern, because of their learning; they are bred up in another law, they run to the text, for something done amongst the Jews, that nothing concerns England. It is just as if a man would have a kettle, and he would not go to our brazier to

have it made, as they make kettles; but he would have it made as Hiram made his brass-work, who wrought in Solomon's temple.

10. To take away bishops' votes is but the beginning to take them away; for then they can be no longer useful to the king or state. It is but like the little wimble, to let in the greater auger. Objection. But they are but for their life, and that makes them always go for the king as he will have them. Answ. This is against a double charity, for you must always suppose a bad king and bad bishops. Then again, whether will a man be sooner content himself should be made a slave, or his son after him? (When we talk of our children we mean ourselves). Besides, they that have posterity are more obliged to the king than they that are only for themselves, in all the reason in the world.

11. How shall the clergy be in the parliament if the bishops are taken away? Ans. By the laiety, because the bishops, in whom the rest of the clergy are included, are sent to the taking away their own votes, by being involved in the major part of the house. This follows naturally.

12. The bishops being put out of the house, whom will they lay the fault upon now? When the dog is beat out of the room, where will they lay the stink?

BISHOPS OUT OF THE PARLIAMENT.

1. In the beginning bishops and presbyters were alike, like the gentlemen in the country, whereof one is made deputy-lieutenant, another justice of peace;

so one is made a bishop, another a dean; and that kind of government, by archbishops and bishops, no doubt, came in, in imitation of the temporal government, not 'Jure divino.' In time of the Roman empire, where they had a legatus, there they placed an archbishop; where they had a rector, there a bishop, that every one might be instructed in Christianity, which now they had received into the empire.

2. They that speak *ingenuously* of bishops and presbyters say, that a bishop is a great presbyter, and during the time of his being bishop, above a presbyter: as your president of the college of physicians is above the rest, yet he himself is no more than a doctor of physic.

3. The words *bishop* and *presbyter* are promiscuously used, that is confessed by all: and though the word *bishop* be in Timothy and Titus, yet that will not prove the bishops ought to have a jurisdiction over the presbyter, though Timothy or Titus had by the order that was given them: somebody must take care of the rest, and that jurisdiction was but to excommunicate, and that was but to tell them they should come no more into their company. Or grant they did make canons one for another, before they came to be in the state, does it follow they must do so when the state has received them into it? What if Timothy had power in Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, over the presbyters? Does it follow, therefore, the bishop must have the same in England? Must we be governed like Ephesus and Crete?

4. However some of the bishops pretend to be 'Jure divino,' yet the practice of the kingdom had ever been otherwise; for whatever bishops do otherwise than the law permits, Westminster-hall can controul, or send them to absolve, &c.

5. He that goes about to prove bishops 'Jure divino,' does, as a man that having a sword shall strike it against an anvil; if he strike it a while there, he may, peradventure, loosen it, though it be never so well riveted; it will serve to strike another sword, or cut flesh, but not against an anvil.

6. If you should say you hold your land by Moses or God's law, and would try it by that, you may, perhaps, lose; but by the law of the kingdom you are sure of it: so may the bishops, by this plea of 'Jure divino,' lose all; the Pope had as good a title by the law of England as could be had, had he not left that, and claimed by power from God.

7. There is no government enjoined by example, but by precept; it does not follow we must have bishops still, because we have had them so long. They are equally mad who say bishops are so, 'Jure divino,' that they must be continued, and they who say they are so antichristian, that they must be put away: all is as the state pleases.

8. To have no ministers, but presbyters, it is as in the temporal state they should have no officers but constables. Bishops do best stand with monarchy, that, as amongst the laiety you have dukes, lords, lieutenants, judges, &c. to send down the king's pleasure

to his subjects; so you have bishops to govern the inferior clergy: these upon occasion may address themselves to the king, otherwise every parson of the parish must come, and run up to the court.

9. The Protestants have no bishops in France, because they live in a catholic country, and they will not have catholic bishops; therefore they must govern themselves as well as they may.

10. What is that to the purpose, to what end bishops, lands were given to them at first? You must look to the law and custom of the place. What is that to any temporal lord's estate, how lands were first divided, or how in William the Conqueror's days? And if men at first were juggled out of their estates, yet they are rightly their successors. If my father cheat a man, and he consent to it, the inheritance is rightly mine.

11. If there be no bishops, there must be something else, which has the power of bishops, though it be in many, and then had you not as good keep them? If you will have no half crowns, but only single pence, yet thirty single pence are a half crown; and then had you not as good keep both? But the bishops have done ill; it was the men, not the function: as if you should say you would have no more half crowns, because they were stolen; when the truth is, they were not stolen because they were half-crowns, but because they were money, and light in a thief's hand.

12. They that would pull down the bishops, and erect a new way of government, do as he that pulls down an old house, and builds another, in another

fashion, there's a great deal of do, and a great deal of trouble; the old rubbish must be carried away, and new materials must be brought, workmen must be provided, and, perhaps, the old one would have served as well.

13. If the parliament and presbyterian party should dispute who should be judge? Indeed, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, there was such a difference between the Protestants and Papists, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Chancellor, was appointed to be judge; but the conclusion was, the stronger party carried it: for so religion was brought into kingdoms, so it has been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the state pleases.

14. It will be a great discouragement to scholars that bishops should be put down: for now the father can say to his son, and the tutor to his pupil, Study hard, and you shall have 'Vocem et sedem in parliamento;' then it must be, 'Study hard, and you shall have a hundred a year if you please your parish.' Obj. But they that enter into the ministry for preferment, are like Judas that looked after the bag. Answ. It may be so, if they turn scholars at Judas's age; but what arguments will they use to persuade them to follow their books while they are young?

BOOKS, AUTHORS.

1. THE giving a bookseller his price for his books has this advantage, he that will do so shall have the refusal of whatsoever comes to his hand, and so by that

means get many things, which otherwise he never should have seen. So 'tis in giving a bawd her price.

2. In buying books or other commodities, 'tis not always the best way to bid half so much as the seller asks: witness the country fellow that went to buy two groat shillings, they asked him three shillings, and he bid them eighteen pence.

3. They counted the price of the books (Acts xix. 19.) and found fifty thousand pieces of silver, that is so many sextertii, or so many three half pence of our money, about three hundred pounds sterling.

4. Popish books teach and inform what we know: we know much out of them. The fathers, church story, schoolmen, all may pass for popish books, and if you take away them, what learning will you leave? Besides, who must be judge? The customer or the waiter? If he disallows a book, it must not be brought into the kingdom, then Lord have mercy upon all scholars! These Puritan preachers, if they have any things good, they have it out of popish books, though they will not acknowledge it, for fear of displeasing the people.—He is a poor divine that cannot sever the good from the bad.

5. 'Tis good to have translations, because they serve as a comment, so far as the judgment of the man goes.

6. In answering a book, 'tis best to be short, otherwise he that I writ against will suspect I intend to weary him, not to satisfy him. Besides, in being long

I shall give my adversary a huge advantage: somewhere or other he will pick a hole.

7. In quoting of books, quote such authors as are usually read, others you may read for your own satisfaction, but not name them.

8. Quoting of authors is most for matter of fact, and then I write them as I would produce a witness, sometimes for a free expression, and then I give the author his due, and gain myself praise by reading him.

9. To quote a modern Dutchman where I may use a classic author, is as if I were to justify my reputation, and I neglect all persons of note and quality that know me, and bring the testimonial of the scullion in the kitchen.

CANON-LAW.

1. If I would study the canon-law as it is used in England, I must study the heads here in use, then go to the practisers in those courts where that law is practised, and know their customs: so for all the study in the world.

CEREMONY.

1. Ceremony keeps up all things; 'tis like a penny-glass to a rich spirit, or some excellent water; without it the water were spilt, the spirit lost.

2. Of all people ladies have no reason to cry down ceremonies, for they take themselves slighted without it. And were they not used with ceremony, with compliments and addresses, with legs, and kissing of

hands, they were the pityfullest creatures in the world; but yet methinks, to kiss their hands after their lips, as some do, is like little boys, that after they eat the apple, fall to the paring, out of a love they have to the apple.

CHANCELLOR.

1. THE bishop is not to sit with the chancellor in his court (as being a thing either beneath him, or beside him) no more than the king is to sit in the king's bench when he is made a lord chief-justice.

2. The chancellor governed in the church, who was a layman. And therefore 'tis false which they charge the bishops with, that they challenge sole jurisdiction. For the bishop can no more put out the chancellor than the chancellor the bishop. They were many of them made chancellors for their lives, and he is the fittest man to govern, because divinity so overwhelms the rest.

CHANGING SIDES.

1. 'TIS the trial of a man to see if he will change his side; and if he be so weak as to change once, he will change again. Your country fellows have a way to try if a man be weak in the hams, by coming behind him, and giving him a blow unawares: if he bend once, he will bend again.

2. The lords that fall from the king after they have got estates, by base flattery at court, and now pretend conscience, do as a vintner, that when he first sets up, you may bring your wench to his house, and do your

things there; but when he grows rich, he turns conscientious, and will sell no wine upon the Sabbath-day.

3. Colonel Goring serving first the one side and then the other, did like a good miller that knows how to grind which way soever the wind sits. *

4. After Luther had made a combustion in Germany about religion, he was sent to by the Pope, to be taken off, and offered any preferment in the church, that he would make choice of. Luther answered, if he had offered half as much at first, he would have accepted it; but now he had gone so far, he could not come back, in truth he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him; the German princes courted him, he was become the author of a sect ever after to be called Lutherans. So have our preachers done that are against the bishops, they have made themselves greater with the people, than they can be made the other way, and therefore there is the less

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* George Lord Goring sided occasionally with the king and the parliament, and notwithstanding repeated instances of treachery, the chief of which was the yielding up of Portsmouth to the rebels, he continued to abuse the king's confidence, and retained his favour to the last, though he did irreparable injury to his interests.

Lord Clarendon says of him that 'he would without hesitation have broke any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion, or appetite; and in truth wanted nothing but industry, (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrouled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his master-piece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.'

charity probably in bringing them off. Charity to strangers is enjoined in the text. By strangers is there understood those that are not of our own kin, strangers to your blood, not those you cannot tell whence they come: that is, be charitable to your neighbours whom you know to be honest poor people..

CHRISTMAS.

1. CHRISTMAS succeeds the Saturnalia, the same time, the same number of holy-days: then the master waited upon the servant like the lord of misrule.

2. Our meats and our sports (much of them) have relation to church works. The coffin of our Christmas pies, in shape long, is in imitation of the cratch, our choosing kings and queens on twelfth night, hath reference to the three kings. So likewise our eating of fritters, whipping of tops, roasting of herrings, Jack of lents, &c. they were all in imitation of church works, emblems of martyrdom. Our tansies at Easter have reference to the bitter herbs: though at the same time it was always the fashion for a man to have a gammon of bacon, to shew himself to be no Jew.

CHRISTIANS.

1. IN the high church of Jerusalem the Christians were but another sect of Jews, that did believe the Messias was come. To be called was nothing else, but to become a Christian, to have the name of a Christian, it being their own language, for amongst the

Jews, when they made a doctor of law, 'twas said he was called.

2. The Turks tell their people of a heaven, where there is sensible pleasure, but of a hell where they shall suffer they do not know what. The Christians quite invert this order, they tell us of a hell where we shall feel sensible pain, but of a heaven where we shall enjoy we cannot tell what.

3. Why did the Heathens object to the Christians, that they worship an ass's head? You must know, that to a Heathen a Jew and a Christian were all one; that they regarded him not, so he was not one of them. Now that of the ass's head might proceed from such a mistake as this, by the Jews' law, all the firstlings of cattle were to be offered to God, except a young ass, which was to be redeemed. A Heathen being present, and seeing young calves and young lambs killed at their sacrifices, only young asses redeemed, might very well think they had that silly beast in some high estimation, and thence might imagine they worshipped it as a God.

CHURCH.

1. HERETOFORE the kingdom let the church alone, let them do what they would, because they had something else to think of, viz. wars; but now, in time of peace, we begin to examine all things, will have nothing but what we like, grow dainty and wanton: just as in a family the heir uses to go a hunting, he never

considers how his meal is drest, takes a bit, and away; but when he stays within, then he grows curious, he does not like this, nor he does not like that, he will have his meat drest his own way, or peradventure he will dress it himself.

2. It hath ever been the gain of the church, when the king will let the church have no power to cry down the king and cry up the church: but when the church can make use of the king's power, then to bring all under the king's prerogative, the Catholics of England go one way, and the court clergy another.

3. A glorious church is like a magnificent feast; there is all the variety that may be, but every one chuses out a dish or two that he likes, and lets the rest alone: how glorious soever the church is, every one chuses out of it his own religion, by which he governs himself, and lets the rest alone.

4. The laws of the church are most favourable to the church, because they were the church's own making; as the heralds are the best gentlemen, because they make their own pedigree.

5. There is a question about that article, * concerning the power of the church, whether these words 'of

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* This question was started by Henry Burton, who charged the bishops, particularly Laud, with foisting this clause, 'The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,' into the 20th article.

He was followed by Anthony Collins, who brought forward the same charge in 1710. Archbishop Laud vindicated himself sufficiently from the accusation, at the censure of Burton and others, in 1637, by proving that the clause was in

having power in controversies of faith,' were not stolen in; but 'tis most certain they were in the book of articles that was confirmed, though in some editions they have been left out: but the article before tells you, who the church is, not the clergy, but *Coetus fidelium.*

CHURCH OF ROME.

1. BEFORE a juggler's tricks are discovered we admire him, and give him money; but afterwards we care not for them: so 'twas before the discovery of the juggling of the church of Rome.

2. Catholics say, we, out of our charity, believe they of the church of Rome may be saved; but they do not believe so of us. Therefore their church is better according to ourselves; first, some of them no doubt believe as well of us, as we do of them, but they must not say so; besides, is that an argument, their church is better than ours, because it has less charity?

3. One of the church of Rome will not come to our prayers: does that argue he doth not like them? I would fain see a Catholic leave his dinner, because a nobleman's chaplain says grace; nor haply would he leave the prayers of the church, if going to church were not made a mark of distinction between a Protestant and a Papist.

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the original autograph of the articles, in the hand-writing of Archbishop Parker. This instrument was seen by Heylyn, but it is supposed to have perished in the fire of London.

CHURCHES.

THE way of coming into our great churches was anciently at the west door, that men might see the altar, and all the church before them; the other doors were but posterns.

CITY.

1. WHAT makes a city? Whether a bishoprick or any of that nature? Ans. 'Tis according to the first charter which made them a corporation. If they are incorporated by name of 'Civitas,' they are a city; if by the name of 'Burgum,' then they are a borough.

2. The Lord Mayor of London, by their first charter, was to be presented to the king; in his absence, to the lord chief justiciary of England; afterwards to the lord chancellor; now to the barons of the Exchequer: but still there was a reservation, that for their honour they should come once a year to the king, as they do still.

CLERGY.

1. THOUGH a clergyman have no faults of his own, yet the faults of the whole tribe shall be laid upon him; so that he shall be sure not to lack.

2. The clergy would have us believe them against our own reason, as the woman would have had her husband against his own eyes: what! will you believe your own eyes before your own sweet wife?

3. The condition of the clergy towards their prince

and the condition of the physician is all one: the physicians tell the prince they have agric and rhubarb, good for him, and good for his subjects' bodies; upon this he gives them leave to use it, but if it prove naught, then away with it, they shall use it no more: so the clergy tell the prince they have physic good for his soul, and good for the souls of his people; upon that he admits them: but when he finds by experience they both trouble him and his people, he will have no more to do with them—What is that to them, or any body else, if a king will not go to Heaven.

4. A clergyman goes not a dram further than this, you ought to obey your prince in general; if he does, he is lost: how to obey him you must be informed by those whose profession it is to tell you. The parson of the Tower, a good discrete man, told Dr. Mosely (who was sent to me, and the rest of the gentlemen committed the 3. Caroli, to persuade us to submit to the king) that they found no such words as Parliament, Habeas Corpus, Return, Tower, &c. neither in the fathers, nor the schoolmen, nor in the text, and therefore for his part he believed he understood nothing of the business. A satire upon all those clergymen that meddle with matters they do not understand.

5. All confess there never was a more learned clergy: no man taxes them with ignorance. But to talk of that, is like the fellow that was a great wencher, he wished God would forgive him his lechery, and lay usury to his charge. The clergy have worse faults.

6. The clergy and laiety together are never like to

do well; 'tis as if a man were to make an excellent feast, and should have his apothecary and physician come into the kitchen. The cooks, if they were let alone, would make excellent meat; but then comes the apothecary, and he puts rhubarb into one sauce, and agric into another sauce. Chain up the clergy on both sides.

HIGH COMMISSION.

1. Men cry out upon the high commission, as if the clergymen only had to do in it, when I believe there are more laymen in commission there than clergymen. If the laymen will not come, whose fault is that? So of the Star-Chamber, the people think the bishops only censured Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, * when

* These celebrated seditionists were very severely punished, by a decree of the Star-Chamber in 1637.

William Prynne was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, and made himself conspicuous, by writing voluminous libels against the court and clergy, for which he was sentenced to lose his ears in the pillory, to be branded in both cheeks with the letters S. L. *seditious libeller*, to pay a fine of 5000 l. and to be imprisoned for life in Jersey castle.

Henry Burton was a factious minister in the city, and being disappointed of preferment at court, turned Puritan, inveighing in his pulpit, and his writings, in the most furious manner against the hierarchy. He was called into the Star-Chamber, and sentenced to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, to be branded, to pay a fine of 5000 l. and to be imprisoned for life in Guernsey castle.

John Bastwick was a crack-brained physician at Colchester. He wrote several indecent books against the church and the bishops, which had a considerable share of popularity and effect. He also lost his ears in the pillory, was branded, fined in 5000 l. and was, then sentenced, to perpetual imprisonment in the isle of St. Mary, Scilly.

At the commencement of the troubles, they were all called home, and remunerated by the parliament.

there were but two there, and one spoke not in his own cause.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1. There are but two erroneous opinions in the House of Commons; that the lords sit only for themselves, when the truth is, they sit as well for the commonwealth. The knights and burgesses sit for themselves and others, some for more, some for fewer, and what is the reason? Because the room will not hold all. The lords being few, they all come, and imagine the room able to hold all the commons of England: then the lords and burgesses would sit no otherwise than the lords do. The second error is, that the House of Commons are to begin to give subsidies, yet if the Lords dissent they can give no money.

2. The House of Commons is called the lower house in twenty acts of parliament; but what are twenty acts of parliament amongst friends?

3 The form of the charge runs thus: 'I accuse in the name of all the Commons of England.' How then can any man be as a witness, when every man is made the accuser?

CONFESSION.

1. In time of parliament it used to be one of the first things the house did, to petition the king that his confessor might be removed, as fearing, either his power with the king, or else, lest he should reveal to the Pope what the house was in doing, as no doubt he did, when the catholic cause was concerned.

2. The difference between us and the Papists is, we both allow contrition, but the Papists make confession a part of contrition; they say a man is not sufficiently contrite till he confess his sins to a priest.

3. Why should I think a priest will not reveal confession? I am sure he will do any thing that is forbidden him, haply not so often as I: the utmost punishment is deprivation, and how can it be proved, that ever any man revealed confession, when there is no witness? And no man can be witness in his own cause. A meer gullery. There was a time when 'twas public in the church, and that is much against their auricular confession.

COMPETENCY.

1. That which is a competency for one man is not enough for another, no more than that which will keep one man warm, will keep another man warm; one man can go in doublet and hose, when another man cannot be without a cloak, and yet have no more clothes than is necessary for him.

GREAT CONJUNCTION.

1. The greatest conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter happens but once in eight hundred years, and therefore astrologers can make no experiments of it, nor foretell what it means, (not but that the stars may mean something, but we cannot tell what) because we cannot come at them. Suppose a planet were a simple, or an

herb, how could a physician tell the virtue of that simple, unless he could come at it, to apply it?

CONSCIENCE.

1. He that hath a scrupulous conscience, is like a horse that is not well weighed, he starts at every bird that flies out of the hedge.

2. A knowing man will do that which a tender-conscience man dares not do, by reason of his ignorance; the other knows there is no hurt, as a child is afraid to go into the dark, when a man is not, because he knows there is no danger.

3. If we once come to leave that outloose, as to pretend conscience against law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, suppose an Anabaptist comes and takes my horse, I sue him; he tells me he did according to his conscience, his conscience tells him all things are common amongst the saints, what is mine is his; therefore you do ill to make such a law, if any man takes another's horse he shall be hanged. What can I say to this man? He does according to his conscience. Why is not he as honest a man, as he that pretends a ceremony established by law is against his conscience? Generally, to pretend conscience against law is dangerous, in some cases haply we may.

4. Some men make it a case of conscience, whether a man may have a pidgeon-house, because his pidgeons eat other folks corn. But there is no such thing as conscience in the business; the matter is, whether he be a man of such quality, that the state allows him to

have a dove-house; if so there's an end of the business, his pidgeons have a right to eat where they please themselves.

CONSECRATED PLACES.

1. THE Jews had a peculiar way of consecrating things to God, which we have not.

2. Under the law, God, who was master of all, made choice of a temple to worship in, where he was more especially present: just as the master of the house, who owns all the house, makes choice of one chamber to lie in, which is called the master's chamber. But under the gospel there was no such thing, temples and churches are set apart for the conveniency of men to worship in. They cannot meet upon the point of a needle, but God himself makes no choice.

3. All things are God's already; we can give him no right by consecrating any, that he had not before, only we set it apart to his service. Just as a gardener brings his lord and master a basket of apricots, and presents them; his lord thanks him, perhaps gives him something for his pains, and yet the apricots were as much his lord's before as now.

4. What is consecrated, is given to some particular man, to do God service, not given to God, but given to man, to serve God: and there's not any thing, lands, or goods, but some men or other have it in their power to dispose of as they please. The saying things consecrated cannot be taken away, makes men afraid of consecration.

5. Yet consecration has this power, when a man has consecrated any thing to God, he cannot of himself take it away.

CONTRACTS.

1. If our fathers have lost their liberty, why may not we labour to regain it? Ans. We must look to the contract; if that be rightly made we must stand to it: if we once grant, we may recede from contracts upon any inconveniency that may afterwards happen, we shall have no bargain kept. I sell you a horse, and do not like my bargain, I will have my horse again.

2. Keep your contracts: so far a divine goes, but how to make our contracts is left to ourselves, and as we agree upon the conveying of this house, or that land, so it must be. If you offer me a hundred pounds for my glove, I tell you what my glove is, a plain glove, pretend no virtue in it, the glove is my own, I profess not to sell gloves, and we agree for an hundred pounds. I do not know why I may not with a safe conscience take it. The want of that common obvious distinction of 'Jus praeceptivum,' and 'Jus permissivum,' does much trouble men.

3. Lady Kent articled with Sir Edward Herbert, that he should come to her when she sent for him, and stay with her as long as she would have him, to which he set his hand; then he articled with her, that he should go away when he pleased, and stay away as long as he pleased, to which she set her hand. This is the epitome of all the contracts in the world, betwixt

man and man, betwixt prince and subject; they keep them as long as they like them, and no longer.

COUNCIL.

1. They talk (but blasphemously enough) that the Holy Ghost is president of their general councils, when the truth is, the odd man is still the Holy Ghost.

CONVOCATION.

1. When the king sends his writ for a parliament, he sends for two knights for a shire, and two burgesses for a corporation; but when he sends for two archbishops for a convocation, he commands them to assemble the whole clergy: but they, out of custom amongst themselves, send to the bishops of their provinces, to will them to bring two clerks for a diocese, the dean, one for the chapter, and the arch-deacons—but to the king every clergyman is there present.

2. We have nothing so nearly expresses the power of a convocation, in respect of a parliament, as a court-leet, where they have a power to make bye-laws, as they call them; as that a man shall put so many cows or sheep in the common; but they can make nothing that is contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

CREED.

1. Athanasius's creed is the shortest, take away the preface, and the force and the conclusion, which are not part of the creed. In the Nicene creed it is εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, 'I believe in the church;' but now, as our

common prayer has it, I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic church; they like not creeds, because they would have no forms of faith, as they have none of prayer, though there be more reason for the one than for the other.

DAMNATION.

1. If the physician sees you eat any thing that is not good for your body, to keep you from it, he cries it is poison: if the divine sees you do any thing that is hurtful for your soul, to keep you from it, he cries you are damned.

2. To preach long, loud, and damnation, is the way to be cried up. We love a man that damns us, and we run after him again to save us. If a man had a sore leg, and he should go to an honest judicious chirurgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an oil (an oil well known) that would do the cure, haply he would not much regard him, because he knows the medicine before hand an ordinary medicine. But if he should go to a chirurgeon that should tell him, your leg will gangrene within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unless you do something that I could tell you, what listening there would be to this man? Oh! for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is, I will give you any content for your pains!

DEVILS.

1. WHY have we none possessed with devils in England? The old answer is, the Protestants the devil hath already, and the Papists are so holy, he dares not meddle with them. Why then, beyond seas where a nun is possessed, when a Hugonot comes into the church, does not the devil hunt them out? The priest teaches him. You never saw the devil throw up a nun's coats, mark that, the priest will not suffer it, for then the people will spit at him.

2. Casting out devils is mere juggling, they never cast out any but what they first cast in. They do it, where for reverence no man shall dare to examine it; they do it in a corner, in a mortice-hole, not in the market-place. They do nothing but what may be done by art, they make the devil fly out of the window in the likeness of a bat, or a rat, why do they not hold him? Why in the likeness of a bat, or a rat, or some creature? That is, why not in some shape we paint him in, with claws and horns? By this trick they gain much, gain upon men's fancies, and so are reverenced, and certainly if the priest deliver me from him, that is my most deadly enemy, I have all the reason in the world to reverence him. Obj. But if this be juggling, why do they punish impostures? Answ. For great reason, because they do not play their part well, and for fear others should discover them, and so all of them ought to be of the same trade.

3. A person of quality came to my chamber in the

temple, and told me he had two devils in his head. I wondered what he meant, and just at that time, one of them bid him kill me: with that I began to be afraid, and thought he was mad. He said he knew I could cure him, and therefore intreated me to give him something, for he was resolved he would go to nobody else. I perceiving what an opinion he had of me, and that it was only melancholy that troubled him, took him in hand, warranted him, if he would follow my directions, to cure him in a short time. I desired him to let me be alone about an hour, and then to come again, which he was very willing to. In the mean time I got a card, and lapt it up handsome in a piece of taffata, and put strings to the taffata, and when he came I gave it to him, to hang about his neck, withal charged him, that he should not disorder himself neither with eating or drinking, but eat very little of supper, and say his prayers duly when he went to bed, and I made no question but he would be well in three or four days. Within that time, I went to dinner to his house, and asked him how he did; he said he was much better, but not perfectly well, for in truth he had not dealt clearly with me, he had four devils in his head, and he perceived two of them were gone, with that which I had given him, but the other two troubled him still. Well, said I, I am glad two of them are gone, I make no doubt but to get away the other two likewise. So I gave him another thing to hang about his neck. Three days after, he came to me to my chamber, and professed he was now as well as ever he was in his life,

and did extremely thank me for the great care I had taken of him. I, fearing lest he might relapse into the like distemper, told him, that there was none but myself and one physician more in the whole town that could cure the devils in the head, and that was Dr. Harvey, (whom I had prepared) and wished him, if ever he found himself ill in my absence, to go to him, for he could cure his disease as well as myself. The gentleman lived many years, and was never troubled after.

SELF-DENIAL.

1. It is much the doctrine of the times that men should not please themselves, but deny themselves every thing they take delight in, not look upon beauty, wear no good clothes, eat no good meat, &c. which seems the greatest accusation that can be upon the maker of all good things. If they be not to be used, why did God make them? The truth is, they that preach against them, cannot make use of them themselves, and then, again, they get esteem by seeming to contemn them. But mark it while you live, if they do not please themselves as much as they can, and we live more by example than precept.

DUEL.

1. A Duel may still be granted in some cases by the law of England, and only there. That the church allowed it antiently, appears by this, in their public liturgies there were prayers appointed for the duellists

to say, the judge used to bid them go to such a church and pray, &c. But whether is this lawful? If you grant any war lawful, I make no doubt but to convince it, war is lawful, because God is the only judge between two, that is supreme. Now if a difference happen between two subjects, and it cannot be decided by human testimony, why may they not put it to God to judge between them, by the permission of the prince? Nay, what if we should bring it down, for argument sake, to the swordmen. One gives me the lie, it is a great disgrace to take it, the law has made no provision to give remedy for the injury (if you can suppose any thing an injury for which the law gives no remedy). Why am not I in this case supreme, and may therefore right myself?

2. A duke ought to fight with a gentleman, the reason is this: the gentleman will say to the duke, it is true you hold a higher place in the state than I, there is a great distance between you and me, but your dignity does not privilege you to do me an injury; as as soon as ever you do me an injury, you make yourself my equal, and, as you are my equal, I challenge you, and in sense the duke is bound to answer him.—This will give you some light to understand the quarrel betwixt a prince and his subjects, though there be a vast distance between him and them, and they are to obey him, according to their contract, yet he hath no power to do them an injury; then they think themselves as much bound to vindicate their right, as they

are to obey his lawful commands, nor is there any other measure of justice left upon earth but arms.

EPITAPH.

1. An Epitaph must be made fit for the person for whom it is made; for a man to say all the excellent things, that can be said upon one, and call that his epitaph, is as if a painter should make the handsomest piece he can possibly make, and say it was my picture. It holds in a funeral sermon.

EQUITY.

1. Equity in law is the same that the spirit is in religion, what every one pleases to make it; sometimes they go according to conscience, sometimes according to law, sometimes according to the rule of court.

Equity is a roguish thing, for law we have a measure, know what to trust to. Equity is according to the conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. It is all one as if they should make the standard for the measure, we call a chancellor's foot, what an uncertain measure would this be? One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, and a third an indifferent foot: it is the same thing in the chancellor's conscience.

3. That saying, do as you would be done to, is often misunderstood, for it is not thus meant that I, a private man, should do to you, a private man, as I would have you to me; but do as we have agreed to do one to another by public agreement. If the prisoner should ask

the judge whether he would be content to be hanged, were he in his case, he would answer no. Then, says the prisoner, do as you would be done to. Neither of them must do as private men, but the judge must do by him as they have publicly agreed, that is, both judge and prisoner have consented to a law, that if either of them steal, they shall be hanged.

EVIL-SPEAKING.

1. He that speaks ill of another, commonly before he is aware, makes himself such a one as he speaks against; for, if he had civility or breeding, he would forbear such kind of language.

2. A gallant man is above ill words: an example we have in the old Lord of Salisbury, (who was a great wise man). Stone had called some lord about court fool; the lord complains, and has Stone whipt. Stone cries, 'I might have called my Lord of Salisbury fool often enough before he would have had me whipt.'

3. Speak not ill of a great enemy, but rather give him good words, that he may use you the better, if you chance to fall into his hands; the Spaniard did this when he was dying: his confessor told him (to work him to repentance) how the devil tormented the wicked that went to hell: the Spaniard replying, called the devil my lord. 'I hope my lord the devil is not so cruel.'—His confessor reproved him. 'Excuse me,' said the Don, 'for calling him so; I know not into

what hands I may fall, and if I happen into his, I hope he will use me the better for giving him good words.'

EXCOMMUNICATION.

1. THAT place they bring for excommunication (put away from among yourselves that wicked person, 1. Cor. v. chap. 13. verse) is corrupted in the Greek, for it should be το πονηρον, put away that evil from among you, not τον πονηρον, that evil person; besides ο πονηρος is the devil in scripture, and it may be so taken there, and there is a new edition of Theodoret come out, that has it right το πονηρον. It is true the Christians, before the civil state became Christian, did by covenant and agreement set down how they should live, and he that did not observe what they agreed upon, should come no more amongst them, that is, be excommunicated. Such men are spoken of by the Apostle (Romans i. 31.) whom he calls ἀσυνθέτους ϗ ἀσπόνδους, the vulgar has it, 'Incompositi, et sine foedere:' the last word is pretty well, but the first not at all. Origen, in his book against Celsus, speaks of the Christians συνθήκη: the translation renders it 'Conventus,' as it signifies a meeting; when it is plain it signifies a covenant, and the English Bible turned the other word well, covenant-breakers. Pliny tells us, the Christians took an oath amongst themselves to live thus, and thus.

2. The other place, ('dic ecclesiae') tell the church, is but a weak ground to raise excommunication upon, especially from the sacrament, the lesser excommunica-

tion, since when that was spoken the sacrament was instituted. The Jews' ecclesia was their sanhedrim, their court: so that the meaning is, if after once or twice admonition this brother will not be reclaimed, bring him thither.

3. The first excommunication was 180 years after Christ, and that by Victor, Bishop of Rome But that was no more than this, that they should communicate and receive the sacrament amongst themselves, not with those of the other opinion; the controversy (as I take it) being about the feast of Easter. Men do not care for excommunication because they are shut out of the church, or delivered up to Satan, but because the law of the kingdom takes hold of them: after so many days a man cannot sue, no, not for his wife, if you take her from him, and there may be as much reason to grant it for a small fault, if there be contumacy, as for a great one. In Westminster-hall you may outlaw a man for forty-shillings, which is their excommunication, and you can do no more for forty thousand pounds.

4. When Constantine became Christian, he so fell in love with the clergy, that he let them be judges of all things; but that continued not above three or four years, by reason they were to be judges of matters they understood not, and then they were allowed to meddle with nothing but religion: all jurisdiction belonged to him, and he scanted them out as much as he pleased, and so things have since continued. They excommunicate for three or four things, matters concerning

adultery, tythes, wills, &c. which is the civil punishment the state allows for such faults. If a bishop excommunicate a man for what he ought not, the judge has power to absolve, and punish the bishop: if they had that jurisdiction from God, why does not the church excommunicate for murder, for theft? If the civil power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too? If this excommunication were taken away, the presbyters would be quiet; it is that they have a mind to, it is that they would be fain at, like the wench that was to be married; she asked her mother when it was done, 'if she should go to bed presently?' 'No,' says her mother, 'you must dine first.' 'And then to bed, mother?' 'No, you must dance after dinner.' 'And then to bed, mother?' 'No, you must go to supper.' 'And then to bed, mother?' &c.

FAITH AND WORKS.

1. It was an unhappy division that has been made between faith and works; though in my intellect I may divide them, just as in the candle, I know there is both light and heat But yet, put out the candle, and they are both gone, one remains not without the other: so it is betwixt faith and works; nay, in a right conception, 'Fides est opus:' if I believe a thing because I am commanded, that is 'opus.'

FASTING-DAYS.

1. What the church debars us one day, she gives us leave to take out in another. First we fast, and then we feast; first there is a carnival, and then a Lent.

2. Whether do human laws bind the conscience? If they do, it was a way to ensnare; if we say they do not, we open the door to disobedience. Answer. In this case we must look to the justice of the law, and the intention of the law-giver: if there be no justice in the law, it is not to be obeyed; if the intention of the law-giver be absolute, our obedience must be so too. If the intention of the law-giver enjoin a penalty as a compensation for the breach of the law, I sin not if I submit to the penalty; if it enjoin a penalty, as a further enforcement of obedience to the law, then ought I to observe it, which may be known by the often repetition of the law. The way of fasting is enjoined unto them, who yet do not observe it, the law enjoins a penalty as an enforcement to obedience; which intention appears by the often calling upon us to keep that law, by the king and the dispensation of the church to such as are not able to keep it, as young children, old folks, diseased men, &c.

FATHERS AND SONS.

1. It hath ever been the way for fathers to bind their sons; to strengthen this by the law of the land, every one at twelve years of age is to take the oath of allegiance in court-leets, whereby he swears obedience to the king.

FINES.

1. THE old law was, That when a man was fined, he was to be fined 'Salvo contenemento,' so as his countenance might be safe, taking countenance in the same sense as your countryman does, when he says, 'If you will come into my house, I will shew you the best countenance I can;' that is, not the best face, but the best entertainment. The meaning of the law was, that so much should be taken from a man, such a gobbet sliced off, that yet, notwithstanding, he might live in the same rank and condition he lived in before; but now they fine men ten times more than they are worth.

FREE-WILL.

1. THE Puritans, who will allow no free-will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do, or not to do, notwithstanding the king, the God upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we have free-will, yet say, when we come to the king, there must be all obedience, and no liberty to be stood for.

FRIARS.

1. THE Friars say they possess nothing; whose then are the lands they hold? Not their superior's, he hath vowed poverty as well as they. Whose then?— To answer this, it was decreed they should say they were the Pope's. And why must the Friars be more perfect than the Pope himself?

2. If there had been no Friars, Christendom might have continued quiet, and things remained at a stay.

3. If there had been no lecturers, (which succeed the Friars in their way) the church of England might have stood, and flourished at this day.

FRIENDS.

1. OLD friends are best. King James used to call for his old shoes, they were easiest for his feet.

GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.

1. THEY that say the reason why Joseph's pedigree is set down, and not Mary's, is, because the descent from the mother is lost, and swallowed up, say something; but yet if a Jewish woman married with a Gentile, they only took notice of the mother, not of the father; but they that say they were both of [illegible] say nothing; for the tribes might marry one with another, and the law against it was only temporary, in the time while Joshua was dividing the land, lest the being so long about it, there might be a confusion.

2. That Christ was the son of Joseph, is most exactly true. For though he was the son of God, yet, with the Jews, if any man kept a child, and brought him up, and called him son, he was taken for his son; and his land (if he had any) was to descend upon him; and therefore the genealogy of Joseph is justly set down.

GENTLEMEN.

1. WHAT a gentleman is, it is hard with us to define; in other countries he is known by his privileges; in Westminster-hall he is one that is reputed one; in the court of honour, he that hath arms. The king cannot make a gentleman of blood, (what have you said?) nor God Almighty, but he can make a gentleman by creation. If you ask which is the better of these two, civilly, the gentleman of blood—morally, the gentleman by creation, may be the better; for the other may be a debauched man, this a person of worth.

2. Gentlemen have ever been more temperate in their religion than the common people, as having more reason, the others running in a hurry. In the beginning of Christianity, the fathers writ 'contra gentes,' and 'contra Gentiles,' they were all one: but after all were Christians, the better sort of people still retained the name of Gentiles throughout the four provinces of the Roman empire; as 'Gentil-homme' in French, 'Gentil-homo' in Italian, 'Gentil-huombre' in Spanish, and 'Gentil-man' in English: and they, no question, being persons of quality, kept up those feasts which we borrow from the Gentiles, as Christmas, Candlemas, May-day, &c. continuing what was not directly against Christianity, which the common people would never have endured.

GOLD.

1. THERE are two reasons why these words (' Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat') were about old gold: the one is, because Riply the alchymist, when he made gold in the Tower, the first time he found it, he spoke these words, ' per medium eorum,' that is, ' per medium ignis, et sulphuris.' The other, because these words were thought to be a charm, and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a man could not take it away. To this reason I rather incline.

HALL.

1. THE hall was the place where the great lord used to eat, (wherefore else were the halls made so big?) Where he saw all his servants and tenants about him. He eat not in private, except in time of sickness.— When once he became a thing coopt up, all his greatness was spoiled. Nay, the king himself used to eat in the hall, and his lords sate with him, and then he understood men.

HELL.

1. THERE are two texts for Christ's descending into hell: the one Psalm 16, the other Acts the 2d, where the Bible that was in use when the thirty-nine articles were made, has it hell. But the Bible that was in queen Elizabeth's time, when the articles were confirmed, reads it grave, and so it continued till the new translation in king James's time, and then it is hell again. But by this we may gather, the church of Eng-

land declined, as much as they could, the descent, otherwise they never would have altered the Bible.

2. [He descended into hell.] This may be the interpretation of it. He may be dead and buried, then his soul ascended into heaven. Afterwards he descended again into hell, that is, into the grave, to fetch his body, and to rise again. The ground of this interpretation is taken from the Platonic learning, who held a metempsychosis, and when a soul did descend from heaven to take another body, they called it Καταβασιν εις ᾅδην, taking ᾅδης, for the lower world, the state of mortality. Now the first Christians, many of them, werePlatonic philosophers, and, no question, spake such language as then was understood amongst them. To understand by hell the grave is no tautology, because the creed first tells what Christ suffered, he was crucified, dead, and buried; then it tells us what he did, he descended into hell, the third day he rose again, he ascended, &c.

HOLY-DAYS.

1. THEY say the church imposes holy-days; there is no such thing, though the number of holy-days is set down in some of our common-prayer books. Yet that has relation to an act of parliament, which forbids the keeping of any holy-days in the time of popery, but those that are kept by the custom of the country, and I hope you will not say the church imposes that.

HUMILITY.

1. Humility is a virtue all preach, none practise, and yet every body is content to hear. The master thinks it good doctrine for his servant, the laiety for the clergy, and the clergy for the laiety.

2. There is 'humilitas quædam in vitio.' If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to God, who is the author of all excellency and perfection? [illegible] if a man hath too mean an opinion of himself, it will render him unserviceable both to God and man.

3. Pride may be allowed to this or that degree, else a man cannot keep up his dignity. In gluttony there must be eating, in drunkenness there must be drinking; 'tis not the eating, nor the drinking, that is to be blamed, but the excess. So in pride.

IDOLATRY.

1. Idolatry is in a man's own thought, not in the opinion of another. Put the case I bow to the altar—why am I guilty of idolatry? Because a stander by thinks so? I am sure I do not believe the altar to be God, and the God I worship may be bowed to in all places, and at all times.

JEWS.

1. God at the first gave laws to all mankind, but afterwards he gave peculiar laws to the Jews, which they were only to observe. Just as we have the com-

mon-law for all England, and yet you have some corporations, that, besides that, have peculiar laws and privileges to themselves.

2. Talk what you will of the Jews, that they are cursed, they thrive wherever they come, they are able to oblige the prince of their country by lending him money, none of them beg, they keep together, and for their being hated, my life for yours, Christians hate one another as much.

INVINCIBLE IGNORANCE.

1. It is all one to me if I am told of Christ, or some mystery of Christianity, if I am not capable of understanding; as, if I am not told at all, my ignorance is as invincible, and therefore it is vain to call their ignorance only invincible, who never were told of Christ. The trick of it is to advance the priest, whilst the church of Rome says, a man must be told of Christ by one thus and thus ordained.

IMAGES.

1. The Papists taking away the second command, is not haply so horrid a thing, nor so unreasonable amongst Christians as we make it. For the Jews could make no figure of God, but they must commit idolatry, because he had taken no shape; but since the assumption of our flesh, we know what shape to picture God in. Nor do I know why we may not make his image, provided we be sure what it is: as we say St. Luke took the picture of the Virgin Mary, and St. Ve-

ronica of our Saviour. Otherwise it would be no honour to the king, to make a picture, and call it the king's picture, when it is nothing like him.

2. Though the learned Papists pray not to images, yet, it is to be feared, the ignorant do, as appears by that story of St. Nicholas in Spain. A countryman used to offer daily to St. Nicholas's image; at length, by mischance, the image was broken, and a new one made of his own plum-tree; after that the man forbore: being complained of to his ordinary, he answered—It is true he used to offer to the old image, but to the new he could not find in his heart, because he knew it was a piece of his own plum-tree. You see what opinion this man had of the image, and to this tended the bowing of their images, the twinkling of their eyes, the virgin's milk, &c. Had they only meant representations, a picture would have done as well as these tricks. It may be with us in England they do not worship images, because, living amongst Protestants, they are either laughed out of it, or beaten out of it by shock of argument.

3. It is a discreet way concerning pictures in churches, to set up no new, nor to pull down no old.

IMPERIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

1. They say imperial constitutions did only confirm the canons of the church; but that is not so, for they inflicted punishment when the canons never did, viz. If a man converted a Christian to be a Jew, he was to forfeit his estate, and lose his life. In Valen-

tine's nov-'s it is said, 'Constat episcopos forum legi- 'bus non habere, et judicant tantum de religione.'

IMPRISONMENT.

1. SIR Kenelm Digby * was several times taken and let go again, at last imprisoned in Winchester-house. I can compare him to nothing but a great fish that we catch and let go again, but still he will come to the bait; at -st, therefore, we put him into some great pc- -or store.

INCENDIARIES.

1. FANCY to yourself a man sets the city on fire at Cripplegate, and that fire continues, by means of others, till it come to White-Fryers, and then he that began it would fain quench it. Does not he deserve to be punished most that first set the city on fire? So it is

* Sir Kenelm Digby was son of Sir Everard Digby, who was executed for being concerned in the gunpowder plot. In 1623 he was knighted by King James, who also restored him to his paternal estate. He was a favourite with King Charles I. who gave him several considerable plac- and in 1628 he commanded a fleet in the Levant, where he acqu-red great repute by rescuing many English slaves at Algiers, and attacking the Venetian fleet at Scanderoon. On the -reaking out of the rebellion, he exerted himself with great -ctivity in the service of his sovereign, and was several times prisoner. In July 1643, he was permitted to depart the kingdom, at the intercession of the queen of France. He spent several years in his travels through Europe, and went to Holland on purpose to visit Descartes. At the restoration he returned to England, and died in 1665. He was the author of several works on metaphysics and natural philosophy.

with the incendiaries of the state. They that first set it on fire, (by monopolizing, forest business, imprisoning parliament men, 'tertio Caroli,' &c.) are now become regenerate, and would fain quench the fire. Certainly they deserved most to be punished, for being the first cause of our distractions.

INDEPENDENCY.

1. INDEPENDENCY is in use at Amsterdam, where forty churches, or congregations, have nothing to do one with another. And it is no question agreeable to the primitive times, before the emperor became Christian; for either we must say every church governed itself, or else we must fall upon the old foolish rock, that St. Peter and his successors governed all; but when the civil state became Christian, they appointed who should govern them; before they governed by agreement and consent: if you will not do this, you shall come no more amongst us, but both the independent man and the presbyterian man do equally exclude the civil power, though after a different manner.

2. The independent may as well plead, they should not be subject to temporal things, not come before a constable, or a justice of the peace, as they plead they should not be subject in spiritual things, because St Paul says, 'Is it so that there is not a wise man amongst you?'

3. The pope challenges all churches to be under him; the king and the two archbishops challenge all the church of England to be under them. The pres-

byterian man divides the kingdom into as many churches as there be presbyteries, and your independent would have every congregation a church by itself.

THINGS INDIFFERENT.

1. IN time of parliament, when things are under debate, they are indifferent, but in a church or state settled there is nothing left indifferent.

PUBLIC INTEREST.

1. ALL might go well in the commonwealth, if every one in the parliament would lay down his own interest, and aim at the general good. If a man were sick, and the whole college of physicians should come to him, and administer severally, haply, so long as they observed the rules of art, he might recover; but if one of them had a great deal of scamony by him, he must put off that, therefore he prescribes scamony.—Another had a great deal of rhubarb, and he must put off that, and therefore he prescribes rhubarb, &c. they would certainly kill the man. We destroy the commonwealth, while we preserve our own private interests, and neglect the public.

HUMAN INVENTION.

1. YOU say there must be no human invention in the church, nothing but the pure word. Answer.—If I give any exposition, but what is expressed in the text, that is my invention; if you give another expo-

sition, that is your invention, and both are human.— For example. Suppose the word egg were in the text, I say it is meant an hen-egg, you say a goose-egg; neither of these are expressed, therefore they are human invention, and, I am sure, the newer the invention the worse: old inventions are best.

2. If we must admit nothing but what we read in the Bible, what will become of the parliament—for we do not read of that there?

JUDGMENTS.

1. We cannot tell what is a judgment of God, it is presumption to take upon us to know. In time of plague we know we want health, and therefore we pray God to give us health: in time of war we know we want peace, and therefore we pray to God to give us peace. Commonly we say a judgment falls upon a man for something in him we cannot abide. An example we have in King James, concerning the death of Henry the Fourth of France, one said he was killed for his wenching, another said he was killed for turning his religion. 'No,' says King James, who could not abide fighting, 'he was killed for permitting duels in his kingdom.'

JUDGE.

1. We see the pageants in Cheapside, the lions, and the elephants, but we do not see the men that carry them; we see the judges looking, look like lions; but we do not see who moves them.

2. Little things do great works, when great things will not. If I should take a pin from the ground, a little pair of tongs will do it, when a great pair will not. Go to a judge to do a business for you, by no means he will not hear of it; but go to some small servant about him, and he will dispatch it according to your heart's desire.

3. There could be no mischief done in the commonwealth without a judge. Though there be false dice brought in at the groom-porters, and cheating offered, yet, unless he allow the cheating, and judge the dice to be good, there may be hopes of fair play.

JUGGLING.

1. It is not juggling that is to be blamed, but much juggling for the world cannot be governed without it. All your rhetoric, and all your elenchs in logic come within the compass of juggling.

JURISDICTION.

1. There is no such thing as spiritual jurisdiction, all is civil, the church is the same with the Lord Mayor's. Suppose a Christian came into a Pagan country, how can you fancy he shall have any power there? He finds fault with the Gods of the country: well, they will put him to death for it: when he is a martyr, what follows? Does that argue he has any spiritual jurisdiction? If the clergy say the church ought to be governed thus, and thus, by the word of God, that is doctrine all; that is not discipline.

2. The pope, he challenges jurisdiction over all; the bishops, they pretend to it as well as he; the presbyterians, they would have it to themselves: but over whom is all this? The poor laymen.

JUS DIVINUM.

1. All things are held by 'Jus divinum,' either immediately or mediately.

2. Nothing has lost the pope so much in his supremacy, as not acknowledging what princes gave him.—It is a scorn upon the civil power, and an unthankfulness in the priest. But the church runs to 'Jus divinum,' lest if they should acknowledge what they have, they have by positive law: it might be as well taken from them as given to them.

KING.

1. A King is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietness sake. Just as in a family one man is appointed to buy the meat: if every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree; one would buy what the other liked not, or what the other had bought before: so there would be a confusion. But that charge being committed to one, he, according to his discretion, pleases all. If they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.

2. The word king directs our eyes: suppose it had been consul, or dictator. To think all kings alike is the same folly as if a consul of Aleppo or Smyrna should

claim to himself the same power as a consul at Rome. What, am not I a consul? Or a duke of England should think himself like the Duke of Florence; nor can it be imagined, that the word Βασιλεὺς did signify the same in Greek as the Hebrew word *melec* did with the Jews. Besides, let the divines in their pulpits say what they will, they, in their practice, deny that all is the king's: they sue him, and so does all the nation, whereof they are a part. What matter is it then what they preach or teach in the schools?

3. Kings are all individual, this or that king: there is no species of kings.

4. A king that claims privileges in his own country, because they have them in another, is just as a cook that claims fees in one lord's house, because they are allowed in another. If the master of the house will yield them, well and good.

5. The text (Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's) makes as much against kings as for them; for it says plainly that some things are not Cæsar's.—But divines make choice of it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoined to it (Render unto God the things that are God's) where they bring in the church.

6. A king outed of his country, that takes as much upon him as he did at home, in his own court, is as if a man on high, and I being upon the ground, used to lift up my voice to him, that he might hear me, at length should come down, and then expects I should speak as loud to him as I did before.

KING OF ENGLAND.

1. The king can do no wrong; that is, no process can be granted against him. What must be done then? Petition him, and the king writes upon the petition, 'soit droit fait,' and sends it to the chancery, and then the business is heard. His confessor will not tell him he can do no wrong.

2. There's a great deal of difference b[illegible]ween head of the church and supreme governor, as our [illegible]nons call the [illegible] Conceive it thus: there is in the [illegible]ingdo[illegible] [illegible]ngland a college of physicians, the king is supreme governor of those, but not head of them, nor president of the college, nor the best physician.

3. After the dissolution of abbies, they did not much advance the king's supremacy, for they only cared to exclude the pope, hence have we had several translations of the Bible put upon us. But now we must look to it, otherwise the king may put upon us what religion he pleases.

4. It was the old way when the king of England had his house, there were canons to sing service in his chapel; so at Westminster, in St. Stephen's Chapel, (where the house of commons sits) from which canons the street called Canon-row has its name, because they lived there, and he had also the abb[illegible] and his monks, and all these the kin[illegible]s house.

5. The three es[illegible]tes are the lords temporal, the bi[illegible] are the clergy, and the commons, as some [illegible]ave it, (take heed [illegible]f th[illegible]t) for then if two

agree, the third is involved, but he is king of the three estates.

6. The king hath a seal in every court, and though the great seal be called 'sigillum Angliæ,' the great seal of England, yet it is not because it is the kingdom's seal, and not the king's, but to distinguish it from 'sigillum Hiberniæ,' 'sigillum Scotiæ.'

7. The court of England is much altered. At a solemn dancing, first you had the grave measures, then the corrantoes and the galliards, and this is kept up with ceremony, at length to French-more and the cushion-dance, and then all the company dance, lord and groom, lady and kitchen-maid, no distinction. So in our court, in queen Elizabeth's time, gravity and state were kept up. In king James's time, things were pretty well. But in king Charles's time, there has been nothing but French-more and the cushion-dance, 'omnium gatherum,' tolly, polly, hoite come toite.

THE KING.

1. It is hard to make an accommodation between the king and the parliament. If you and I fell out about money, you said I owed you twenty pounds; I said I owed you but ten pounds; it may be, a third party allowing me twenty merks, might make us friends. But if I said I owed you twenty pounds in silver, and you said I owed you twenty pound of diamonds, which is a sum innumerable, it is impossible we should ever agree: this is the case.

2. The king using the house of co[illegible], as he did Mr. Pymm and his company, that is, charging them with treason, because they charged my lord of Canterbury and Sir George Ratcliff, it was just with as much logic, as the boy, that would have lain with his grandmother, used to his father, 'you lay with my mother, why should not I lie with your's?'

3. There is not the same reason for the king's accusing men of treason, and carrying them away, as there is for the houses themselves, because they accuse one of themselves. For every one that is accused, is either a peer or a commoner, and he that is accused, hath his consent going along with him; but if the king accuses, there is nothing of this in it.

4. The king is equally abused now as before; then they flattered him, and made him do ill things, now they would force him against his conscience. If a physician should tell me, every thing I had a mind to was good for me, though in truth it was poison, he abused me; and he abuses me as much, that would force me to take something whether I will or no.

5. The king, so long as he is our king, may do with his officers what he pleases, as the master of the house may turn away all his servants, and take whom he please.

6. The king's oath is not security enough for our property, for he swears to govern according to law; now the judges they interpret the law, and what judges can be made to do we know.

7. The king and the parliament now falling out,

are just as when there is foul play offered amongst gamesters, one snatches the other's stake, they seize what they can of one another's. It is not to be asked whether it belongs not to the king to do this or that: before, when there was fair play, it did. But now they will do what is most convenient for their own safety. If two fall to scuffling, one tears the other's band, the other tears his: when they were friends they were quiet, and did no such thing, they let one another's bands alone.

8. The king calling his friends from the parliament, because he had use of them at Oxford, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the cellar, and takes the spiggot; in the mean time all the beer runs about the house. When his friends are absent the king will be lost.

KNIGHTS SERVICE.

1. KNIGHTS service in earnest means nothing, for the lords are bound to wait upon the king when he goes to war with a foreign enemy, with, it may be, one man and one horse, and he that doth not is to be rated so much as shall seem good to the next parliament. And what will that be? So it is for a private man, that holds of a gentleman.

LAND.

1. WHEN men did let their land underfoot, the tenants would fight for their landlords, so that way they had their retribution, but now they will do no-

thing for them, may be the first, if but a constable bid them, that shall lay the landlord by the heels, and therefore it is vanity and folly not to take the full value.

2. Allodium is a law word contrary to Feudum, and it signifies land that holds of nobody: we have no such land in England. It is a true proposition, all the land in England is held, either immediately or mediately, of the king.

LANGUAGE.

1. To a living tongue new words may be added, but not to a dead tongue, as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.

2. Latimer is the corruption of Latiner; it signifies, he that interprets Latin, and though he interpreted French, Spanish, or Italian, he was called the king's Latiner, that is, the king's interpreter.

3. If you look upon the language spoken in the Saxon time, and the language spoken now, you will find the difference to be, just as if a man had a cloak that he wore plain in queen Elizabeth's days, and since, here has put in a piece of red, and there a piece of blue, and here a piece of green, and there a piece of orange-tawny. We borrow words from the French, Italian, Latin, as every pedantic man pleases.

4. We have more words than notions, half a dozen words for the same thing. Sometimes we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a piece a gun. The word gun was in use in England for an

engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any gunpowder found out.

5. Words must be fitted to a man's mouth; it was well said of the fellow that was to make a speech for my Lord Mayor, he desired to take measure of his lordship's mouth.

LAW.

1. A MAN may plead not guilty, and yet tell no lie, for by the law no man is bound to accuse himself; so that when I say not guilty, the meaning is, as if I should say, by way of paraphrase, I am not so guilty as to tell you; if you will bring me to a trial, and have me punished for this you lay to my charge, prove it against me.

2. Ignorance of the law excuses no man, not that all men know the law, but because it is an excuse every man will plead, and no man can tell how to confute him.

3. The king of Spain was outlawed in Westminster-hall, I being of council against him. A merchant had recovered costs against him in a suit, which, because he could not get, we advised to have him outlawed for not appearing, and so he was. As soon as Gondamer heard that, he presently sent the money, by reason, if his master had been outlawed he could not have the benefit of the law, which would have been very prejudicial, there being then many suits depending betwixt the king of Spain and our English merchants.

4. Every law is a contract between the king and the people, and therefore to be kept. An hundred men may owe me an hundred pounds, as well as any one man, and shall they not pay me because they are stronger than me? Object. Oh but they lose all if they keep that law. Answ. Let them look to the making of their bargain. If I sell my lands, and when I have done, one comes and tells me I have nothing else to keep me, I and my wife and children must starve, if I part with my land; must I not therefore let them have my land that have bought it and paid for it?

5. The parliament may declare law, as well as any other inferior court may, viz. the king's bench. In that or this particular case, the king's bench will declare unto you what the law is, but that binds nobody whom the case concerns. So the highest court, the parliament, may do, but not declare law, that is, make law that was never heard of before.

LAW OF NATURE.

1. I CANNOT fancy to myself what the law of nature means, but the law of God. How should I know I ought not to steal, I ought not to commit adultery, unless somebody had told me so? Surely it is because I have been told so; it is not because I think I ought not to do them, nor because you think I ought not; if so, our minds might change. Whence then comes the restraint? From a higher power: nothing else can bind. I cannot bind myself for I may untie myself again; nor an equal cannot bind me, for we may untie one

another. It must be a superior power, even God Almighty. If two of us make a bargain, why should either of us stand to it? What need you care what you say, or what need I care what I say? Certainly because there is something about me that tells me 'fides est servanda,' and if we after alter our minds, and make a new bargain, there is 'fides servanda' there too.

LEARNING.

1. No man is the wiser for his learning, it may administer matter to work in, or objects to work upon; but wit and wisdom are born with a man.

2. Most men's learning is nothing but history duly taken up. If I quote Thomas Aquinas for some tenet, and believe it, because the schoolmen say so, that is but history. Few men make themselves masters of the things they write or speak.

3. The Jesuits and the lawyers of France, and the low-countrymen, have engrossed all learning. The rest of the world make nothing but homilies.

4. It is observable, that in Athens, where the arts flourished, they were governed by a democracy: learning made them think themselves as wise as any body, and they would govern as well as others; and they spake as it were by way of contempt, that in the East and in the North they had kings, and why? Because the most part of them followed their business, and if some one man had made himself wiser than the rest, he governed them, and they willingly submitted themselves to him. Aristotle makes the observation. And

as in Athens the philosophers made the people knowing, and therefore they thought themselves wise enough to govern, so does preaching with us, and that makes us affect a democracy: for upon these two grounds we all would be governors, either because we think ourselves as wise as the best, or because we think ourselves the elect, and have the spirit, and the rest a company of reprobates that belong to the devil.

LECTURERS.

1. LECTURERS do in a parish church what the friars did heretofore, get away not only the affections, but the bounty, that should be bestowed upon the minister.

2. Lecturers get a great deal of money, because they preach the people tame, as a man watches a hawk, and then they do what they list with them.

3. The lectures in Blackfriars, performed by officers of the army, tradesmen and ministers, is as if a great lord should make a feast, and he would have his cook dress one dish, and his coachman another, his porter a third, &c.

LIBELS.

1. THOUGH some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits. As, take a straw, and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that which way the wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a stone. More solid things do not shew the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels.

LITURGY.

1. THERE is no church without a liturgy, nor indeed can there be conveniently, as there is no school without a grammar. One scholar may be taught otherwise upon the stock of his acumen, but not a whole school. One or two that are piously disposed, may serve themselves their own way, but hardly a whole nation.

2. To know what was generally believed in all ages, the way is to consult the liturgies, not any private man's writing. As if you would know how the church of England serves God: go to the common prayer-book, consult not this nor that man. Besides, liturgies never compliment, nor use high expressions. The fathers oft-times speak oratoriously.

LORDS IN THE PARLIAMENT.

1. THE Lords giving protections is a scorn upon them. A protection means nothing actively, but passively; he that is a servant to a parliament man is thereby protected. What a scorn is it to a person of honour to put his hand to two lies at once, that such a man is my servant, and employed by me, when haply he never saw the man in his life, nor before ever heard of him!

2. The Lords protesting is foolish. To protest, is properly to save to a man's self some right. But to protest as the Lords protest, when they themselves are involved, it is no more than if I should go into Smith-

held, and sell my horse, and take the money, and yet when I have your money, and you my horse, I should protest this horse is mine, because I love the horse; or I do not know why I do protest, because my opinion is contrary to the rest. Ridiculous, when they say the bishops did anciently protest, it was only dissenting, and that in the case of the pope.

LORDS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT.

1. GREAT lords, by reason of their flatterers, are the first that know their own virtues, and the last that know their own vices; some of them are ashamed upwards, because their ancestors were too great. Others are ashamed downwards, because they were too little.

2. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem is said to be 'primus baro Angliæ,' the first baron of England, because, being last of the spiritual barons, he chose to be first of the temporal. He was a kind of an otter, a knight half spiritual, and half temporal.

3. *Quest.* Whether is every baron a baron of some place?

Answ. It is according to his patent; of late years they have been made baron of some place, but anciently not, called only by their sir-name, or the sir name of some family into which they have been married.

4. The making of new lords lessens all the rest. It is in the business of lords, as it was with St. Nicholas's image: the countryman, you know, could not find in his heart to adore the new image, made of his own

plum-tree, though he had formerly worshipped the old one. The lords that are ancient we honour, because we know not whence they come; but the new ones we slight, because we know their beginning.

5. For the Irish lords to take upon them here in England, is as if the cook in the fair should come to my Lady Kent's kitchen, and take upon him to roast the meat there, because he is a cook in another place.

MARRIAGE.

1. Of all actions of a man's life, his marriage does least concern other people; yet of all actions of our life, it is most meddled with by other people.

2. Marriage is nothing but a civil contract; it is true, it is an ordinance of God: so is every other contract—God commands me to keep it when I have made it.

3. Marriage is a desperate thing. The frogs in Æsop were extreme wise, they had a great mind to some water, but they would not leap into the well, because they could not get out again.

4. We single out particulars, and apply God's providence to them: thus when two are married, and have undone one another, they cry it was God's providence we should come together, when God's providence does equally concur to every thing.

MARRIAGE OF COUSIN-GERMANS.

1. Some men forbear to marry cousin-germans, out of this kind of scruple of conscience, because it was

unlawful before the reformation, and is still in the church of Rome. And so by reason, their grandfather, or their great-grandfather did not do it, upon that old score, they think they ought not to do it; as some men forbear flesh upon Friday, not reflecting upon the statute which with us makes it unlawful, but out of an old score, because the church of Rome forbids it, and their fore-fathers always forbore flesh upon that day. Others forbear it out of a natural consideration; because it is observed, for example, in beasts, if two couple of a near kind, the breed proves not so good; the same observation they make in plants and trees, which degenerate, being grafted upon the same stock. And it is also further observed, those matches between cousin-germans seldom prove fortunate. But for the lawfulness, there is no colour, but cousin-germans in England may marry, both by the law of God and man: for with us, we have reduced all the degrees of marriage to those in the Levitical law, and it is plain, there is nothing against it. As for that that is said cousin-germans once removed may not marry, and therefore being a further degree may not, it is presumed a nearer should not—no man can tell what it means.

MEASURE OF THINGS.

1. We measure from ourselves, and as things are for our use and purpose, so we approve them; bring a pear to the table that is rotten, we cry it down, it is naught; but bring a medlar that is rotten, and it is a

fine thing, and yet I'll warrant you the pear thinks as much of itself as the medlar does.

2. We measure the excellency of other men by some excellency we conceive to be in ourselves. Nash,* a poet, poor enough, as poets used to be, seeing an alderman with his gold chain, upon his great horse, by way of scorn, said to one of his companions, do you see yon fellow, how goodly, how big he looks, why that fellow cannot make a blank verse.

3. Nay, we measure the goodness of God from ourselves, we measure his goodness, his justice, his wisdom, by something we call just, good, or wise in ourselves; and in so doing, we judge proportionably to the country fellow in the play, who said if he were a king, he would live like a lord, and have pease and bacon every day, and a whip that cried slash.

DIFFERENCE OF MEN.

1. The difference of men is very great, you would scarce think them to be of the same species, and yet it consists more in the affection than in the intellect. For as in the strength of body, two men shall be of an equal strength, yet one shall appear stronger than the other, because he exercises, and puts out his strength; the other will not stir nor strain himself: so it is in the strength of the brain, the one endeavours, and

* Thomas Nash was a writer of some note in the reign of Elizabeth, and took his degree of B. A. at Cambridge, 1585. He wrote several severe pieces against the Puritans, and some plays, which are now obsolete. He was a man of satyrical wit, but of dissolute manners. At the close of life, he appears to have altered his course, and to have become penitent. He died about A. D. 1600.

strains, and labours, and studies; the other sits still, and is idle, and takes no pains, and therefore he appears so much the inferior.*

MINISTER DIVINE.

1. THE imposition of hands upon the minister when all is done, will be nothing but a designation of a person to this or that office or employment in the church. It is a ridiculous phrase, that of the canonists 'conferre ordines,' it is 'co-optare aliquem in ordinem,' to make a man one of us, one of our number, one of our order. So Cicero would understand what I said, it being a phrase borrowed from the Latines, and to be understood proportionably to what was amongst them.

2. Those words you now use in making a minister, 'receive the Holy Ghost,' were used among the Jews in making of a lawyer, from thence we have them, which is a villainous key to something, as if you would have some other kind of præfecture than a mayoralty, and yet keep the same ceremony that was used in making the mayor.

3. A priest has no such thing as an indelible character: what difference do you find betwixt him and

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* It is remarkable, that Dr. Johnson once expressed himself of the same opinion, in a conversation related by Mr. Boswell; [*Tour to the Hebrides, p.* 23.] he said 'he could not understand, how a man could apply to one thing and not to another.' *Robertson* said, 'one man had more judgment another had more imagination.'---*Johnson.* 'No, Sir, it is only one man has more mind than another. He may direct it differently; he may, by accident, see the success of one kind of study, and take a desire to excel in it.'

another man, after ordination? Only he is made a priest, as I said, by designation: as a lawyer is called to the bar, then made a serjeant. All men that would get power over others, make themselves as unlike them as they can; upon the same ground the priests made themselves unlike the laiety.

4. A minister, when he is made, is 'materia prima,' apt for any form the state will put upon him, but of himself he can do nothing. Like a doctor of law in the university, he hath a great deal of law in him, but cannot use it till he be made somebody's chancellor; or like a physician, before he be received into a house, he can give nobody physic; indeed after the master of the house hath given him charge of his servants, then he may. Or like a suffragan, that could do nothing but give orders, and yet he was no bishop.

5. A minister should preach according to the articles of religion established in the church where he is. To be a civil lawyer, let a man read Justinian, and the body of the law, to confirm his brain to that way; but when he comes to practise, he must make use of it so far as it concerns the law received in his own country. To be a physician, let a man read Galen and Hippocrates; but when he practises, he must apply his medicines according to the temper of those men's bodies with whom he lives, and have respect to the heat and cold of climes; otherwise, that which in Pergamus (where Galen lived) was physic, in our cold climate may be poison. So to be a divine,

let him read the whole body of divinity, the fathers and the schoolmen; but when he comes to practise, he must use it, and apply it, according to those grounds and articles of religion that are established in the church, and this with sense.

6. There be four things a minister should be at, the concionary part, ecclesiastical story, school-divinity, and the casuists.

(1.) In the concionary part he must read all the chief fathers, both Latin and Greek, wholly; St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St, Chrysostome, both the Gregories, &c. Tertullian, Clement Alexandrinus, and Epiphanius, which last have more learning in them than all the rest, and writ freely.

(2). For ecclesiastical story, let him read Baronius, with the Magdeburgenses, and be his own judge; the one being extremely for the Papists, the other extremely against them.

(3.) For school-divinity, let him get Javellus's edition of Scotus or Mayco, where there be quotations that direct you to every schoolman, where such and such questions are handled. Without school-divinity, a divine knows nothing logically, nor will be able to satisfy a rational man out of the pulpit.

(4.) The study of the casuists must follow the study of the schoolmen, because the division of their cases is according to their divinity, otherwise he that begins with them will know little: as he that begins with the study of the reports and cases in the common law will thereby know little of the law. Casuists may be

of admirable use, if discreetly dealt with, though among them you shall have many leaves together very impertinent. A case well decided would stick by a man, they would remember it whether they will or no; whereas a quaint position dieth in the birth. The main thing is to know where to search, for talk what they will of vast memories, no man will presume upon his own memory for any thing he means to write or speak in public.

7. 'Go and teach all nations.' This was said to all Christians that then were, before the distinction of clergy and laiety; there have been since men designed to preach only by the state, as some men are designed to study the law, others to study physic. When the Lord's supper was instituted, there were none present but the disciples. Shall none then but ministers receive?

8. There is all the reason you should believe your minister, unless you have studied divinity as well as he, or more than he.

9. It is a foolish thing to say ministers must not meddle with secular matters, because his own profession will take up the whole man; may he not eat, or drink, or walk, or learn to sing? The meaning of that is, he must seriously attend his calling.

10. Ministers with the Papists, that is, their priests, have much respect, with the Puritans they have much, and that upon the same ground, they pretend, both of them, to come immediately from Christ; but with the Protestants they have very little, the reason where-

of is, in the beginning of the reformation, they were glad to get such to take livings as they could procure by any invitations, things of pitiful condition. The nobility and gentry would not suffer their sons or kindred to meddle with the church, and therefore, at this day, when they see a parson, they think him to be such a thing still, and there they will keep him, and use him accordingly; if he be a gentleman that is singled out, he is used the more respectfully.

11. The Protestant minister is least regarded, appears by the old story of the keeper of the Clink. He had priests of several sorts sent unto him: as they came in, he asked them who they were; 'who are you?' to the first. 'I am a priest of the church of Rome.' 'You are welcome,' quoth the keeper, 'there are those will take care of you.' 'And who are you?' 'A silenced minister.' 'You are welcome too, I shall fare the better for you.' 'And who are you?' 'A minister of the church of England.' 'O God help me,' quoth the keeper, 'I shall get nothing by you, I am sure you may lie and starve, and rot, before any body will look after you.'

12. Methinks it is an ignorant thing for a churchman to call himself the minister of Christ, because St. Paul or the apostles called themselves so. If one of them had a voice from Heaven, as St Paul had, I will grant he is a minister of Christ. I will call him so too. Must they take upon them as the apostles did? Can they do as the apostles could? The apostles had a mark to be known by, spake tongues, cured diseases.

od upon serpents, &c. Can they do this? If a gentleman tells me he will send his man to me, and I do not know his man, but he gave me this mark to know him by, he should bring in his hand a rich jewel; if a fellow came to me with a pebble-stone, had I any reason to believe he was the gentleman's man?

MONEY.

1. MONEY makes a man laugh. A blind fiddler playing to a company, and playing but scurvily, the company laughed at him; his boy that led him, perceiving it, cried, 'father let us be gone, they do nothing but laugh at you.' 'Hold thy peace, boy, said the fiddler, we shall have their money presently, and then we will laugh at them.'

2. Euclid was beaten in Boccalini, for teaching his scholars a mathematical figure in his school, whereby he shewed, that all the lives, both of princes and private men, tended to one centre, 'con gentilezza;' handsomely to get money out of other men's pockets, and put it into our own.

3. The pope used heretofore to send the princes of Christendom to fight against the Turk, but prince and pope finely juggled together, the monies were raised, and some men went out to the holy war, but commonly, after they had got the money, the Turk was pretty quiet, and the prince and the pope shared it between them.

4. In all times, the princes in England have done something illegal to get money. But then came a

parliament and all was well, the people and the prince kissed and were friends, and so things were quiet for a while; afterwards, there was another trick found out to get money, and after they had got it, another parliament was called to set all right, &c. But now they have so outrun the constable——

MORAL HONESTY.

1. THEY that cry down moral honesty, cry down that which is a great part of religion, my duty towards God, and my duty towards man. What care I to see a man run after a sermon, if he cozen and cheat as soon as he comes home. On the other side, morality must not be without religion, for if so, it may change, as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that has not religion to govern his morality, is not a dram better than my mastiff dog; so long as you stroke him and please him, and do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be, he is a very good moral mastiff; but if you hurt him, he will fly in your face, and tear out your throat.

MORTGAGE.

1. IN case I receive a thousand pounds, and mortgage as much land as is worth two thousand to you, if I do not pay the money at such a day, I fail; whether you may take my land and keep it in point of conscience? Ans. If you had my lands as security only for your money, then you are not to keep it; but if we bargained so, that if I did not repay your 1000 l. my land should go for it, be it what it will, no doubt.

you may with a safe conscience keep it; for in these things all the obligation is 'servare fidem.'

NUMBER.

1. ALL those mysterious things they observe in numbers come to nothing, upon this very ground, because number in itself is nothing, has not to do with nature, but is merely of human imposition, a mere sound. For example, when I cry one o'clock, two o'clock, three o'clock, that is but man's division of time, the time itself goes on, and it had been all one in nature, if those hours had been called nine, ten, and eleven. So when they say the seventh son is fortunate, it means nothing; for if you count from the seventh backwards, then the first is the seventh; why is not he likewise fortunate?

OATHS.

1. SWEARING was another thing with the Jews than with us, because they might not pronounce the name of the Lord Jehovah.

2. There is no oath scarcely but we swear to things we are ignorant of: for example, the oath of supremacy; how many know how the king is king? What are his right and prerogative? So how many know what are the privileges of the parliament, and the liberty of the subject, when they take the protestation? But the meaning is, they will defend them when they know them. As if I should swear, I would take part with all that wear red ribbons in their hats, it

may be, I do not know which colour is red; but when I do know, and see a red ribbon in a man's hat, then will I take his part.

3. I cannot conceive how an oath is imposed, where there is a parity, viz. in the House of Commons, they are all 'pares inter se,' only one brings paper, and shews it the rest, they look upon it, and in their own sense take it: now they are but 'pares' to me, who am none of the house, for I do not acknowledge myself their subject: if I did, then no question, I was bound by an oath of their imposing. It is to me but reading a paper in their own sense.

4. There is a great difference between an assertory oath and a promissory oath. An assertory oath is made to a man before God, and I must swear so, as man may know what I mean: but a promissory oath is made to God only, and I am sure he knows my meaning: so in the new oath it runs, 'whereas I believe in my conscience, &c. I will assist thus and thus.' That *whereas* gives me an outloose, for if I do not believe so, for ought I know, I swear not all.

5. In a promissory oath, the mind I am in is a good interpretation; for if there be enough happened to change my mind, I do not know why I should not. If I promise to go to Oxford to-morrow, and mean it when I say it, and afterwards it appears to me, that it will be my undoing, will you say I have broke my promise if I stay at home? Certainly I must not go.

6. The Jews had this way with them, concerning a promissory oath or vow: if one of them had vowed a

vow, which afterwards appeared to him to be very prejudicial, by reason of something he either did not foresee, or did not think of when he made his vow; if he made it known to three of his countrymen, they had power to absolve him, though he could not absolve himself, and that they picked out some words in the text: perjury hath only to do with an assertory oath, and no man was punished for perjury, by man's law, till queen Elizabeth's time; it was left to God, as a sin against him; the reason was, because it was so hard a thing to prove a man perjured: I might misunderstand him, and he swears as he thought.

7. When men ask me whether they may take an oath in their own sense, it is to me, as if they should ask whether they may go to such a place upon their own legs. I would fain know how they can go otherwise.

8. If the ministers that are in sequestrated livings will not take the engagement, threaten to turn them out and put in the old ones, and then I'll warrant you they will quietly take it. A gentleman having been rambling two or three days, at length came home, and being in bed with his wife, would fain have been at something that she was unwilling to, and instead of complying, fell to chiding him for his being abroad so long: well, says he, if you will not, call up Sue (his wife's chambermaid): upon that she yielded presently.

9. Now oaths are so frequent, they should be taken like pills, swallowed whole: if you chew them you

will find them bitter: if you think what you swear, it will hardly go down.

ORACLES.

1. ORACLES ceased presently after Christ, as soon as nobody believed them. Just as we have no fortune-tellers, nor wise men, when nobody cares for them. Sometimes you have a season for them, when people believe them, and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the devil.

OPINION.

1. OPINION and affection extremely differ; I may affect a woman best, but it does not follow I must think her the handsomest woman in the world. I love apples best of any fruit, but it does not follow, I must think apples to be the best fruit. Opinion is something wherein I go about to give reason why all the world should think as I think. Affection is a thing wherein I look after the pleasing of myself.

2. It was a good fancy of an old Platonic: the gods, which are above men, had something whereof man did partake, and intellect, knowledge, and the gods kept on their course quietly. The beasts, which are below man, had something whereof man did partake, sense and growth, and the beasts lived quietly in their way. But man had something in him, whereof neither gods nor beasts did partake, which gave him all the trouble, and made all the confusion in the world, and that is opinion.

3. It is a foolish thing for me to be brought off from an opinion in a thing neither of us know, but are led only by some cobweb-stuff, as in such a case as this, 'utrum angeli invicem colloquantur?' If I forsake my side in such a case, I shew myself wonderful light, or infinitely complying, or flattering the other party. But if I be in a business of nature, and hold an opinion one way, and some man's experience has found out the contrary, I may with a safe reputation give up my side.

4. It is a vain thing to talk of an heretic, for a man for his heart can think no otherwise than he does think. In the primitive times there were many opinions, nothing scarce but some or other held: one of these opinions being embraced by some prince, and received into his kingdom, the rest were condemned as heresies, and his religion, which was but one of the several opinions, first is said to be orthodox, and so have continued ever since the apostles.

PARITY.

1. This is the juggling trick of the parity, they would have nobody above them, but they do not tell you they would have nobody under them.

PARLIAMENT.

1. All are involved in a parliament. There was a time when all men had their voice in chusing knights. About Henry the sixth's time, they found the inconvenience; so one parliament made a law, that only he that had forty shillings per annum should give his

voice, they under should be excluded. They made the law who had the voice of all, as well under forty shillings as above; and thus it continues at this day. All consent civilly in a parliament, women are involved in the men, children in those of perfect age, those that are under forty shillings a year in those that have forty shillings a year, those of forty shillings in the knights.

2. All things are brought to the parliament, little to the courts of justice; just as in a room where there is a banquet presented, if there be persons of quality there, the people must expect, and stay till the great ones have done.

3. The parliament flying upon several men, and then letting them alone, does as a hawk that flies a covey of partridges, and when she has flown them a great way, grows weary, and takes a tree; then the faulconer lures her down, and takes her to his fist: on they go again, 'hei rett,' up springs another covey, away goes the hawk, and as she did before, takes another tree, &c.

4. Dissenters in parliament may at length come to a good end, though first there be a great deal of do, and a great deal of noise, which mad wild folks make; just as in brewing of wrest-beer, there is a great deal of business in grinding the malt, and that spoils any man's clothes that comes near it; then it must be mashed, then comes a fellow in and drinks of the wort, and he is drunk; then they keep a huge quarter when they

carry it into the cellar, and a twelvemonth after it is delicate fine beer.

5. It must necessarily be, that our distempers are worse than they were in the beginning of the parliament. If a physician comes to a sick man, he lets him blood, it may be he scarifies him, cups him, puts him into a great disorder, before he makes him well; and if he be sent for to cure an ague, and he find his patient hath many diseases, a dropsy, and a palsy, he applies remedies to them all, which makes the cure the longer, and the dearer: this is the case.

6. The parliament-men are as great princes as any in the world, when whatsoever they please is privilege of parliament; no man must know the number of their privileges, and whatsoever they dislike, is breach of privilege. The Duke of Venice is no more than speaker of the house of commons; but the senate of Venice are not so much as our parliament-men, nor have they that power over the people, who yet exercise the greatest tyranny that is any where. In plain truth, breach of privilege is only the actual taking away of a member of the house, the rest are offences against the house. For example, to take out process against a parliament-man, or the like.

7. The parliament-party, if the law be for them, they call for the law; if it be against them, they will go to a parliamentary way; if no law be for them, then for law again: like him that first called for sack to heat him, then small drink to cool his sack, then sack again to heat his small drink, &c.

8. The parliament-party do not play fair play, in sitting up till two of the clock in the morning to vote something they have a mind to. It is like a crafty gamester that makes the company drunk, then cheats them of their money. Young men and infirm men go away; besides, a man is not there to persuade other men to be of his mind, but to speak his own heart, and if it be liked, so; if not, there is an end.

PARSON.

1. THOUGH we write *parson* differently, yet it is but person; that is, the individual person set apart for the service of such a church, and it is in Latin, 'persona,' and 'personatus' is a personage. Indeed with the canon lawyers 'personatus' is any dignity or preferment in the church.

2. There never was a merry world since the fairies left dancing, and the parson left conjuring. The opinion of the latter kept thieves in awe, and did as much good in a country as a justice of peace.

PATIENCE.

1. PATIENCE is the chiefest fruit of study; a man that strives to make himself a different thing from other men by much reading, gains this chiefest good, that in all fortunes he hath something to entertain and comfort himself withal.

PEACE.

1. King James was pictured going easily down a pair of stairs, and upon every step there was written, peace, peace, peace! The wisest way for men in these times is to say nothing.

2. When a country wench cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in her churn. We have been churning for peace a great while, and it will not come—sure the witch is in it.

3. Though we had peace, yet it will be a great while ere things be settled: though the wind lie, yet after the storm the sea will work a great while.

PENANCE.

1. PENANCE is only the punishment inflicted, not penitence, which is the right word. A man comes not to do penance, because he repents him of his sin, but because he is compelled to it; he curses him, and could kill him that sends him thither. The old canons wisely enjoined three years penance, sometimes more, because in that time, a man got a habit of virtue, and so committed that sin no more for which he did penance.

PEOPLE.

1. THERE is not any thing in the world more abused than this sentence, 'salus populi suprema lex esto,' for we apply it, as if we ought to forsake the known law, when it may be most for the advantage of the

people, when it means no such thing. For first, it is not 'salus populi suprema lex est,' but 'esto,' it being one of the laws of the twelve tables, and after divers laws made, some for punishment, some for reward, then follows this, 'Salus populi suprema lex esto:' that is, in all the laws you make, have a special eye to the good of the people, and then what does this concern the way they now go?

2. Obj. He that makes one, is greater than he that is made; the people make the king, ergo, &c.

Answ. This does not hold, for if I have 1000l. per annum, and give it you, and leave myself never a penny, I made you; but when you have my land, you are greater than I. The parish makes the constable, and when the constable is made, he governs the parish. The answer to all these doubts is, have you agreed so? If you have, then it must remain till you have altered it.

PLEASURE.

1. Pleasure is nothing else but the intermission of pain, the enjoying of something I am in great trouble for till I have it.

2. It is a wrong way to proportion other men's pleasures to ourselves; it is like a child's using a little bird, 'O poor bird, thou shalt sleep with me!' so lays it in his bosom, and stifles it with his hot breath. The bird had rather be in the cold air: and yet, too, it is the most pleasing flattery, to like what other men like.

3. It is most undoubtedly true, that all men are

equally given to their pleasure, only thus, one man's pleasure lies one way, and another's another. Pleasures are all alike, simply considered in themselves: he that hunts, or he that governs the commonwealth, they both please themselves alike, only we commend that whereby we ourselves receive some benefit. As if a man place his delight in things that tend to the common good, he that takes pleasure to hear sermons, enjoys himself as much as he that hears plays, and could he that loves plays endeavour to love sermons, possibly he might bring himself to it as well as to any other pleasure. At first, it may seem harsh and tedious, but afterwards, it would be pleasing and delightful. So it falls out in that, which is the great pleasure of some men, tobacco, at first they could not abide it, and now they cannot be without it.

4. Whilst you are upon earth, enjoy the good things that are here, to that end were they given, and be not melancholy, and wish yourself in heaven. If a king should give you the keeping of a castle, with all things belonging to it, orchards, gardens, &c. and bid you use them; withal promise you, that after twenty years, to remove you to the court, and to make you a privy-counsellor—If you should neglect your castle, and refuse to eat of those fruits, and sit down, and whine, and wish you were a privy-counsellor, do you think the king would be pleased with you?

5. Pleasures of meat, drink, clothes, &c. are forbidden those that know not how to use them; just

as nurses cry pah! when they see a knife in a child's hand—They will never say any thing to a man.

PHILOSOPHY.

1. WHEN men comfort themselves with philosophy, it is not because they have got two or three sentences, but because they have digested those sentences, and made them their own: so upon the matter, philosophy is nothing but discretion.

POETRY.

1. OVID was not only a fine poet, but (as a man may speak) a great canon lawyer, as appears in his Fasti, where we have more of the festivals of the old Romans than any where else: it is pity the rest are lost.

2. There is no reason plays should be in verse, either in blank or rhyme, only the poet has to say for himself, that he makes something like that, which somebody made before him. The old poets had no other reason but this, their verse was sung to music, otherwise it would have been a senseless thing to have fettered up themselves.

3. I never converted but two, the one was Mr. Crashaw, from writing against plays; but telling him a way how to understand that place (of putting on women's apparel) which has nothing to do in the business (as neither has it, that the fathers speak against plays in their time, with reason enough, for they had

real idolatries mixed with their plays, having three altars perpetually upon the stage). The other was a doctor of divinity, from preaching against painting, which simply in itself is no more hurtful than putting on my cloaths, or doing any thing to make myself like other folks, that I may not be odious or offensive to the company. Indeed if I do it with an ill intention, it alters the case; so, if I put on my gloves with an intention to do a mischief, I am a villain.

4. It is a fine thing for children to learn to make verse, but when they come to be men, they must speak like other men, or else they will be laughed at. It is ridiculous to speak, or write, or preach in verse. As it is good to learn to dance, a man may learn his leg, learn to go handsomely, but it is ridiculous for him to dance when he should go.

5. It is ridiculous for a lord to print verses, it is well enough to make them to please himself; but, to make them public, is foolish. If a man in a private chamber twists his bandstrings, or plays with a rush to please himself, it is well enough; but if he should go into Fleet-street, and sit upon a stall, and twirl a bandstring, or play with a rush, then all the boys in the street would laugh at him.

6. Verse proves nothing but the quantity of syllables, they are not meant for logic.

POPE.

1. A POPE's bull and a pope's brief differ very much, as with us the great seal and the privy seal.—

The bull being the highest authority the king can give, the brief is of less. The bull has a leaden seal upon silk, hanging upon the instrument. The brief has 'sub annulo piscatoris' upon the side.

2. He was a wise pope, that when one that used to be merry with him, before he was advanced to the popedom, refrained aftewards to come at him, (presuming he was busy in governing the christian world) the pope sends for him, bids him come again, 'and,' says he, 'we will be merry as we were before, for thou little thinkest what a little foolery governs the whole world.'

3. The pope, in sending relics to princes, does as wenches do by their wassels at New-year's-tide, they present you with a cup, and you must drink of a slabby stuff; but the meaning is, you must give them monies, ten times more than it is worth.

4. The pope is infallible, where he hath power to command, that is, where he must be obeyed, so is every supreme power and prince. They that stretch his infallibility further, do they know not what.

5. When a protestant and a papist dispute, they talk like two madmen, because they do not agree upon their principles, the one way is to destroy the pope's power, for if he hath power to command me, it is not my alledging reasons to the contrary can keep me from obeying: for example, if a constable command me to wear a green suit to-morrow, and has power to make me, it is not my alledging a hundred reasons of the folly of it can excuse me from doing it.

6. There was a time when the pope had power here in England, and there was excellent use made of it, for it was only to serve turns, (as might be manifested out of the records of the kingdom, which divines know little of). If the king did not like what the pope would have, he would forbid the pope's legate to land upon his ground. So that the power was truly then in the king, though suffered in the pope. But now the temporal and the spiritual power (spiritual so called, because ordained to a spiritual end) spring both from one fountain, they are like to twist that.

7. The protestants in France bear office in the state, because, though their religion be different, yet they acknowledge no other king but the king of France.—The papists in England, they must have a king of their own, a pope, that must do something in our kingdom; therefore there is no reason they should enjoy the same privileges.

8. Amsterdam admits of all religions but papists, and it is upon the same account. The papists, where-ever they live, have another king at Rome; all other religions are subject to the present state, and have no prince elsewhere.

9. The papists call our religion a parliamentary religion; but there was once, I am sure, a parliamentary pope; pope Urban was made pope in England by act of parliament, against pope Clement; the act is not in the book of statutes, either because he that compiled the book, would not have the name of the pope there,

or else he would not let it appear that they meddled with any such thing, but it is upon the rolls.

10. When our clergy preach against the pope and the church of Rome, they preach against themselves, and crying down their pride, their power, and their riches, have made themselves poor and contemptible enough; they dedicate first to please their prince, not considering what would follow. Just as if a man were to go a journey, and seeing, at his first setting out, the way clean and fair, ventures forth in his slippers, not considering the dirt and the sloughs are a little further off, or how suddenly the weather may change.

POPERY.

1. The demanding a noble for a dead body passing through a town, came from hence in time of popery—they carried the dead body into the church, where the priest said dirges, and twenty dirges, at fourpence a piece, comes to a noble; but now it is forbidden by an order from my lord marshal; the heralds carry his warrant about them.

2. We charge the prelatical clergy with popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing: just as heretofore they called images mammets, and the adoration of images mammetry: that is, Mahomet and Mahometry, odious names, when all the world know the Turks are forbidden images by their religion.

POWER-STATE.

1. THERE is no stretching of power; it is a good rule, eat within your stomach, act within your commission.

2. They that govern most make least noise. You see when they row in a barge, they that do drudgery-work, slash, and puff, and sweat; but he that governs, sits quietly at the stern, and scarce is seen to stir.

3. Syllables govern the world.

4. 'All power is of God' means no more than 'fides est servanda.' When St. Paul said this, the people had made Nero emperor. They agree, he to command, they to obey. Then God comes in, and casts a hook upon them, keep your faith; then comes in, all power is of God. Never king dropt out of the clouds. God did not make a new emperor, as the king makes a justice of peace.

5. Christ himself was a great observer of the civil power, and did many things only justifiable, because the state required it, which were things merely temporary for the time that state stood. But divines make use of them to gain power to themselves, as for example, that of 'Dic ecclesiae,' tell the church: there was then a Sanhedrim, a court to tell it to, and therefore they would have it so now.

6. Divines ought to do no more than what the state permits. Before the state became Christian, they made their own laws, and those that did not observe them they excommunicated, (naughty men) they suffered them to come no more amongst them. But if they

would come amongst them, how could they hinder them? By what law? By what power? They were still subject to the state, which was heathen. Nothing better expresses the condition of Christians in those times, than one of the meetings you have in London, of men of the same country, of Sussex-men, or Bedfordshire-men; they appoint their meeting, and they agree, and make laws amongst themselves, (he that is not there shall pay double, &c.) and, if any one misbehave himself, they shut him out of their company; but can they recover a forfeiture made concerning their meeting by any law? Have they any power to compel one to pay? But afterwards, when the state became Christian, all the power was in them, and they gave the church much, or as little as they pleased, and took away when they pleased, and added what they pleased.

7. The church is not only subject to the civil power with us that are protestants, but also in Spain; if the church does excommunicate a man for what it should not, the civil power will take him out of their hands. So in France, the bishop of Angers altered something in the breviary; they complained to the parliament at Paris, that made him alter it again, with a comme abuse.

8. The parliament of England has no arbitrary power in point of judicature, but in point of making law only.

9. If the prince be 'servus natura,' of a servile base spirit, and the subjects 'liberi,' free and ingenuous, oft-times they depose their prince, and govern

themselves. On the contrary, if the people be 'servi natura,' and some one amongst them of a free and ingenuous spirit, he makes himself king of the rest, and this is the cause of all changes in state; commonwealths into monarchies, and monarchies into commonwealths.

10. In a troubled state we must do as in foul weather upon the Thames, not think to cut directly through, so the boat may be quickly full of water, but rise and fall as the waves do, give as much as conveniently we can.

PRAYER.

1. If I were a minister, I should think myself most in my office reading of prayers, and dispensing of the sacrament; and it is ill done to put one to officiate in the church, whose person is contemptible out of it.—Should a great lady, that was invited to be a gossip, in her place send her kitchen-maid, it would be ill taken; yet she is a woman as well as she: let her send her woman at least.

2. 'You shall pray' is the right way, because, according as the church is settled, no man may make a prayer in public of his own head.

3. It is not the original common-prayer-book; why, shew me an original bible, or an original 'magna charta.'

4. Admit the preacher prays by the spirit, yet that very prayer is common-prayer to the people; they are tied as much to his words, as in saying 'Almighty

and most merciful Father.' Is it then unlawful in the minister, but not unlawful in the people?

5. There were some mathematicians, that could with one fetch of their pen make an exact circle, and with the next touch point out the center; is it therefore reasonable to banish all use of the compasses? Set forms are a pair of compasses.

6. 'God hath given gifts unto men.' General texts prove nothing. Let him shew me John, William, or Thomas in the text, and then I will believe him. If a man hath a voluble tongue, we say he hath the gift of prayer. His gift is to pray long, that I see; but does he pray better?

7. We take care what we speak to men, but to God we may say any thing.

8. The people must not think a thought towards God, but as their pastors will put it into their mouths: they will make right sheep of us.

9. The English priests would do that in English which the Romish do in Latin, keep the people in ignorance; but some of the people outdo them at their own game.

10. Prayer should be short, without giving God Almighty reasons why he should grant this, or that; he knows best what is good for us. If your boy should ask you a suit of cloaths, and give you reasons (otherwise he cannot wait upon you, he cannot go abroad but he shall discredit you) would you endure it? You know it better than he, let him ask a suit of cloaths.

11. If a servant that has been fed with good beef

goes into that part of England where salmon is plenty, at first he is pleased with his salmon, and despises his beef, but after he has been there awhile, he grows weary of his salmon, and wishes for his good beef again. We have a while been much taken with this praying by the spirit, but in time we may grow weary of it, and wish for our common-prayer.

11. It is hoped we may be cured of our extemporary prayers the same way the grocer's boy is cured of his eating plums—when we have had our belly full of them.

PREACHING.

1. Nothing is more mistaken than that speech—'preach the gospel'—for it is not to make long harangues, as they do now-a-days, but to tell the news of Christ's coming into the world, and when that is done, or where it is known already, the preacher's work is done.

2. Preaching, in the first sense of the word, ceased as soon as ever the gospels were written.

3. When the preacher says, this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost in such a place, in sense he can mean no more than this; that is, I, by studying of the place, by comparing one place with another, by weighing what goes before, and what comes after, think this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost, and for shortness of expression I say, the Holy Ghost says thus, or this is the meaning of the spirit of God. So the judge speaks of the king's proclamation, this is the intention of the

king, not that the king has declared his intention any other way to the judge, but the judge examining the contents of the proclamation, gathers by the pu port of the words the king's intention, and then, for shortness of expression, says, this is the king's intention.

4. Nothing is text but what was spoken in the bible, and meant there for person and place; the rest is application, which a discreet man may do well; but it is his scripture, not the Holy Ghost.

5. Preaching by the spirit (as they call it) is most esteemed by the common people, because they cannot abide art or learning, which they have not been bred up in. Just as in the business of fencing; if one country fellow among the rest has been at the schoo the rest will undervalue his skill, or tell him he wants valour. 'You come with your school tricks: there is Dick Butcher has ten times more mettle in him.'—So they say to the preachers; 'you come with your school learning: there's such a one has the spirit.'

6. The tone in preaching does much in working upon the people's affections. If a man should make love in an ordinary tone, his mistress would not regard him, and therefore he must whine. If a man should cry fire or murder in an ordinary voice, no body would come out to help him.

7. Preachers will bring any thing into the text.—The young masters of arts preached against non-residency in the university, whereupon the heads made an order, that no man should meddle with any thing but what was in the text. The next day one preached

upon these words, 'Abraham begat Isaac.' When he had gone a good way, at last he observed, that Abraham was resident, for, if he had been non-resident, he could never have begat Isaac; and so fell foul upon the non-residents.

8. I could never tell what often preaching meant, after a church is settled, and we know what is to be done: it is just as if a husbandman should once tell his servants what they are to do, when to sow, when to reap, and afterwards one should come and tell them twice or thrice a day what they know already: you must sow your wheat in October, you must reap your wheat in August, &c.

9. The main argument why they would have two sermons a day is, because they have two meals a day; the soul must be fed as well as the body. But I may as well argue, I ought to have two noses, because I have two eyes; or two mouths, because I have two ears. What have meals and sermons to do with one another?

10. The things between God and man are but few, and those, forsooth, we must be told often of; but things between man and man are many; those I hear not of above twice a year, at the assizes, or once a quarter, at the sessions; but few come then, nor does the minister exhort the people to go at these times to learn their duty towards their neighbour. Often preaching is sure to keep the minister in countenance, that he may have something to do.

11. In preaching they say more to raise men to love

virtue than men can possibly perform, to make them do their best; as if you would teach a man to throw the bar; to make him put out his strength, you bid him throw farther than it is possible for him, or any man else—throw over yonder house.

12. In preaching, they do by men as writers of romance do by their chief knights, bring them into many dangers, but still fetch them off: so they put men in fear of hell, but at last they bring them to heaven.

13. Preachers say, 'do as I say, not as I do.' But if a physician had the same disease upon him that I have, and he should bid me do one thing, and he do quite another, could I believe him?

14. Preaching the same sermon to all sorts of people is, as if a school-master should read the same lesson to his several forms. If he reads 'amo, amas, amavi,' the highest forms laugh at him; the younger boys admire him. So it is in preaching to a mixed auditory. Obj. But it cannot be otherwise; the parish cannot be divided into several forms. What must the preacher then do in discretion? Answ. Why then let him use some expressions, by which this or that condition of people may know such doctrine does more especially concern them, it being so delivered that the wisest may be content to hear. For if he delivers it all together, and leaves it to them to single out what belongs to themselves, (which is the usual way) it is as if a man would bestow gifts upon children of several ages: two years old, four years old, ten years old, &c. and there he brings tops, pins, points, ribbands, and casts them

all in a heap together upon a table before them: though the boy of ten years old knows how to chuse his top, yet the child of two years old, that should have a ribband, takes a pin, and the pin, ere he be aware, pricks his fingers, and then all is out of order, &c. Preaching, for the most part, is the glory of the preacher, to shew himself a fine man. Catechising would do much better.

15. Use the best arguments to persuade, though but few understand, for the ignorant will sooner believe the judicious of the parish, than the preacher himself, and they teach when they dissipate what he has said, and believe it the sooner confirmed by men of their own side. For betwixt the laiety and the clergy there is, as it were, a continual driving of a bargain; something the clergy would still have us be at, and therefore many things are heard from the preacher with suspicion. They are afraid of some ends, which are easily assented to, when they have it from some of themselves. It is with a sermon as it is with a play; many come to see it, which do not understand it; and yet hearing it cried up by one, whose judgment they cast themselves upon, and of power with them, they swear and will die in it, that it is a very good play, which they would not have done if the priest himself had told them so. As in a great school, it is the master that teaches all; the monitor does a great deal of work; it may be the boys are afraid to see the master: so in a parish it is not the minister does all; the

greater neighbour teaches the lesser, the master of the house teaches his servant, &c.

16. First in your sermons use your logic, and then your rhetoric. Rhetoric without logic is like a tree with leaves and blossoms, but no root; yet I confess more are taken with rhetoric than logic, because they are catched with a free expression, when they understand not reason. Logic must be natural, or it is worth nothing at all: your rhetoric figures may be learned: that rhetoric is best which is most seasonable and most catching. An instance we have in that old blunt commander at Cadiz, who shewed himself a good orator, being to say something to his soldiers, (which he was not used to do) he made them a speech to this purpose:—'What a shame will it be, you Englishmen, that feed upon good beef and brewess, to let those rascally Spaniards beat you, that eat nothing but oranges and lemons!' and so put more courage into his men than he could have done with a more learned oration. Rhetoric is very good, or stark naught; there is no medium in rhetoric. If I am not fully persuaded, I laugh at the orator.

17. It is good to preach the same thing again, for that is the way to have it learned. You see a bird, by often whistling, to learn a tune, and a month after record it to herself.

18. It is a hard case a minister should be turned out of his living for something they inform he should say in his pulpit. We can no more know what a minister said in his sermon by two or three words picked out

of it, than we can tell what tune a musician played last upon the lute, by two or three single notes.

PREDESTINATION.

1. THEY that talk nothing but predestination, and will not proceed in the way of heaven till they be satisfied in that point, do as a man that would not come to London, unless at his first step he might set his foot upon the top of Paul's.

2. For a young divine to begin in his pulpit with predestination, is as if a man were coming into London, and at his first step would think to set his foot, &c.

3. Predestination is a point inaccessible, out of our reach; we can make no notion of it, it is so full of intricacy, so full of contradiction: it is in good earnest, as we state it, half a dozen bulls one upon another.

Doctor Prideaux, * in his lectures, several days used arguments to prove predestination; at last tells his auditory, they are damned that do not believe it; doing herein just like school-boys, when one of them has got an apple, or something the rest have a mind to, they use all the arguments they can to get some of it from him:—'I gave you some the other day; you shall have some with me another time.' When they can-

* Dr. John Prideaux was regius professor of divinity at Oxford many years, and was made bishop of Worcester by King Charles I. He was a native of Devonshire, and of so low an origin, as to stand candidate for the office of parish-clerk at Ugborough, in that county. On being disappointed, he went on foot to Oxford, and became servitor at Exeter College, where he studied so assiduously, as to raise himself to a fellowship.

not prevail, they tell him he is a jackanapes, a rogue, and a rascal.

PREFERMENT.

1. WHEN you would have a child go to such a place, and you find him unwilling, you tell him he shall ride a cock-horse, and then he will go presently. So do those that govern the state deal by men, to work them to their ends: they tell them they shall be advanced to such, or such a place, and they will do any thing they would have them.

2. A great place strangely qualifies. John Read was in the right, groom of the chamber to my lord of Kent. Attorney Noy being dead, some were saying how will the king do for a fit man? 'Why, any man,' says John Read, 'may execute the place.' 'I warrant,' says my lord 'thou thinkest thou understandest enough to perform it.' 'Yes,' quoth John, 'let the king make me attorney, and I would fain see the man that durst tell me there is any thing I understand not.'

3. When the pageants are a coming, there is a great thrusting and a riding upon one another's backs, to look out at the window; stay a little, and they will come just to you; you may see them quietly. So it is when a new statesman or officer is chosen, there is great expectation and listening who it should be; stay a while, and you may know quietly.

4. Missing preferment makes the presbyters fall foul upon the bishops. Men that are in hopes, and in the way of rising, keep in the channel; but they that have none, seek new ways. It is so amongst the lawyers: he that hath the judge's ear will be very observant of

the way of the court; but he that hath no regard will be flying out.

5. My Lord Digby having spoken something in the house of commons, for which they would have questioned him, was presently called to the upper house.—He did by the parliament as an ape when he hath done some waggery; his master spies him, and he looks for his whip, but before he can come at him, whip says he to the top of the house.

6. Some of the parliament were discontented, that they wanted places at court, which others had got; but when they had them once then they were quiet. Just as at a christening, some that get no sugar plums, when the rest have, mutter and grumble: presently the wench comes again with her basket of sugar-plums, and then they catch and scramble, and when they have got them, you hear no more of them.

PRAEMUNIRE.

1. THERE can be no praemunire. A praemunire, so called from the word 'praemunire facias,' was when a man laid an action in an ecclesiastical court, for which he could have noremedy in any of the king's courts; that is in the courts of common law, by reason the ecclesiastical courts before Henry the eighth were subordinate to the pope, and so it was 'contra coronam et diginitatem regis;' but now the ecclesiastical courts are equally subordinate to the king. Therefore it cannot be 'contra coronam et dignitatem regis,' and so no praemunire.

PREROGATIVE.

1. PREROGATIVE is something that can be told

what it is, not something that has no name. Just as you see the archbishop has his prerogative court; but we know what is done in that court. So the king's prerogative is not his will, or what divines make it, a power to do what he lists.

2. The kings's prerogative, that is, the king's law. For example, if you ask whether a patron may present to a living after six months by law? I answer no. If you ask whether the king may? I answer, he may by his prerogative, that is, by the law that concerns him in that case.

PRESBYTERY.

1. They that would bring in a new government, would very fain persuade us they meet it in antiquity; thus they interpret presbyters, when they meet the word in the fathers. Other professions likewise pretend to antiquity. The alchymist will find his art in Virgil's Aureus Ramus, and he that delights in optics will find them in Tacitus. When Cæsar came into England, they would persuade us they had perspective glasses, by which he could discover what they were doing upon the land; because it is said, 'positis speculis.' The meaning is, his watch, or his sentinel, discovered this, and this unto him.

2. Presbyters have the greatest power of any clergy in the world, and gull the laiety most.— For example, admit there be twelve laymen to six presbyters, the six shall govern the rest as they please.— First, because they are constant, and the others come in like church-wardens in their turns, which is an

huge advantage. Men will give way to them who have been in place before them. Next, the laymen have other professions to follow; the presbyters make it their sole business; and besides, too, they learn and study the art of persuading. Some of Geneva have confessed as much.

3. The presbyter, with his elders about him, is like a young tree fenced about with two or three or four stakes; the stakes defend it and hold it up, but the tree only prospers and flourishes: it may be some willow stake may bear a leaf or two, but it comes to nothing. Lay-elders are stakes, the presbyter the tree that flourishes.

4. When the queries were sent to the assembly concerning the 'jus divinum' of presbytery, their asking time to answer them, was a satire upon themselves.—For if it were to be seen in the text, they might quickly turn to the place and shew us it. Their delaying to answer makes us think there is no such thing there.—They do just as you have seen a fellow do at a tavern reckoning; when he should come to pay his reckoning, he puts his hands into his pockets, and keeps a grabling and fumbling, and shaking; at last tells you he has left his money at home, when all the company knew at first he had no money there, for every man can quickly find his own money.

PRIESTS OF ROME.

1. The reason of the statute against priests was this: in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth there was a

statute made, that he that drew men from their civil obedience was a traitor. It happened this was done in privacies and confessions, when there could be no proof; therefore they made another act, that for a priest to be in England was treason, because they presumed that it was his business to fetch men from their obedience.

2. When Queen Elizabeth died, and King James came in, an Irish priest does thus express it—'Elizabetha in orcum detrusa, successit Jacobus, alter haereticus.' You will ask why they did use such language in their church? Answer. Why does the nurse tell the child of raw-head and bloody bones, to keep it in awe?

3. The Queen-mother and Count Rosset are to the priests and Jesuits like the honey-pot to the flies.

4. The priests of Rome aim but at two things—to get power from the king, and money from the subject.

5. When the priests come into a family, they do as a man that would set fire on a house; he does not put fire to the brick-wall, but thrusts it into the thatch.—They work upon the women, and let the men alone.

6. For a priest to turn a man when he lies a dying, is just like one that hath a long time solicited a woman, and cannot obtain his end, at length makes her drunk, and so lies with her.

PROPHECIES.

1. DREAMS and prophecies do thus much good; they make a man go on with boldness and courage upon a danger or a mistress: if he obtains, he attributes much to them; if he miscarries, he thinks no more of them, or is no more thought of himself.

PROVERBS.

1. THE proverbs of several nations were much studied by Bishop Andrews,* and the reason he gave was, because by them he knew the minds of several nations, which is a brave thing; as we count him a wise man that knows the minds and insides of men, which is done by knowing what is habitual to them. Proverbs are habitual to a nation, being transmitted from father to son.

QUESTION.

1. WHEN a doubt is propounded, you must learn to distinguish, and show wherein a thing holds, and wherein it does not hold. Ay, or no, never answered any question. The not distinguishing where things should be distinguished, and the not confounding where things should be confounded, is the cause of all the mistakes in the world.

REASON.

1. IN giving reasons, men commonly do with us as the woman does with her child— when she goes to market about her business, she tells it she goes to buy it

* Dr. Lancelot Andrews was Bishop of Winchester in the reign of James I.

a fine thing, to buy it a cake or some plums. They give us such reasons as they think we will be catched withal, but never let us know the truth.

2. When the school-men talk of 'recta ratio' in morals, either they understand reason, as it is governed by a command from above, or else they say no more than a woman, when she says a thing is so, because it is so; that is, her reason persuades her it is so. The other acceptation has sense in it. As, take a law of the land, I must not depopulate; my reason tells me so. Why? because if I do, I incur the detriment.

3. The reason of a thing is not to be enquired after till you are sure the thing itself be so. We commonly are at 'What is the reason of it?' before we are sure of the thing. It was an excellent question of my Lady Cotton, when Sir Robert Cotton was magnifying of a shoe, which was Moses' or Noah's, and wondering at the strange shape and fashion of it: 'But Mr. Cotton,' says she, 'are you sure it is a shoe?'

RETALIATION.

1. 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;' that does not mean, that if I put out another man's eye, therefore I must lose one of my own, (for what is he the better for that?) though this be commonly received; but it means, I shall give him what satisfaction an eye shall be judged to be worth.

REVERENCE.

1. It is sometimes unreasonable to look after respect and reverence, either from a man's own servant,

or other inferiors. A great lord and a gentleman talking together, there came a boy by, leading a calf with both his hands. Says the lord to the gentleman, 'You shall see me make the boy let go his calf.'—With that he came towards him, thinking the boy would have put off his hat, but the boy took no notice of him. The lord seeing that, 'Sirrah,' says he, 'do you not know me that you use no reverence?' 'Yes,' says the boy, 'if your lordship will hold my calf, I will pull off my hat.'

NON-RESIDENCY.

1. The people thought they had a great victory over the clergy, when in Henry the eighth's time they got their bill passed, that a clergyman should have but two livings; before, a man might have twenty or thirty; it was but getting a dispensation from the pope's limiter, or gatherer of the Peter-pence, which was as easily got, as now you may have a licence to eat flesh.

2. As soon as a minister is made, he hath power to preach all over the world, but the civil power restrains him; he cannot preach in this parish or in that; there is one already appointed. Now if the state allows him two livings, then he hath two places where he may exercise his function, and so has the more power to do his office, which he might do every where if he were not restrained.

RELIGION.

1. King James said to the fly, 'have I three kingdoms, and thou must needs fly into my eye?' Is there not enough to meddle with upon the stage, or in love, or at the table, but religion?

2. Religion amongst men appears to me like the learning they got at school. Some men forget all they learned, others spend upon the stock, and some improve it. So some men forget all the religion that was taught them when they were young, others spend upon that stock, and some improve it.

3. Religion is like the fashion, one man wears his doublet slashed, another laced, another plain; but every man has a doublet: so every man has his religion. We differ about trimming.

4. Men say they are of the same religion, for quietness sake; but if the matter were well examined, you would scarce find three any where of the same religion in all points.

5. Every religion is a getting religion; for though I myself get nothing, I am subordinate to those that do. So you may find a lawyer in the Temple that gets little for the present, but he is fitting himself to be in time one of those great ones that do get.

6. Alteration of religion is dangerous, because we know not where it will stay: it is like a millstone that lies upon the top of a pair of stairs; it is hard to remove it, but if once it be thrust off the first stair, it never stays till it comes to the bottom.

7. Quest. Whether is the church or the scripture

judge of religion? Answ. In truth neither, but the state. I am troubled with a boil; I call a company of chirurgeons about me; one prescribes one thing, another another: I single out something I like, and ask you that stand by, and are no chirurgeon, what you think of it? You like it too; you and I are judges of the plaister, and we bid them prepare it, and there is an end. Thus it is in religion; the protestants say they will be judged by the scripture; the papists say so too, but that cannot speak. A judge is no judge, except he can both speak and command execution; but the truth is they never intend to agree. No doubt the pope, where he is supreme, is to be judge. If he say we in England ought to be subject to him, then he must draw his sword and make it good.

8. By the law was the manual received into the church before the reformation, not by the civil law, that had nothing to do in it, nor by the canon law; for that manual that was here was not in France nor in Spain, but by custom, which is the common law of England; and custom is but the elder brother to a parliament; and so it will fall out to be nothing that the papists say, our's is a parliamentary religion, by reason the service-book was established by act of parliament, and never any service-book was so before. That will be nothing that the pope sent the manual: it was our's, because the state received it. The state still makes the religion, and receives into it what will best agree with it. Why are the Venetians Roman catholics? because the state likes the religion: all the

world knows they care not three pence for the pope.— The council of Trent is not at this day admitted in France.

9. Papist. Where was your religion before Luther, an hundred years ago? Protestant. Where was America an hundred or sixscore years ago? Our religion was where the rest of the Christian church was.— Papist. Our religion continued ever since the apostles, and therefore it is better. Protestant. So did our's. That there was an interrruption of it, will fall out to be nothing, no more than if another earl should tell me of the earl of Kent, saying, he is a better earl than he, because there was one or two of the family of Kent did not take the title upon them; yet all that while they were really earls; and afterwards a great prince declared them to be earls of Kent, as he that made the other family an earl.

10. Disputes in religion will never be ended, because there wants a measure by which the business would be decided. The puritan would be judged by the word of God: if he would speak clearly, he means himself; but he is ashamed to say so, and he would have me believe him before a whole church, that has read the word of God as well as he. One says one thing, and another another; and there is, I say, no measure to end the controversy. It is just as if two men were at bowls, and both judged by the eye; one says it is his cast, the other says it is my cast, and having no measure, the difference is eternal. Ben Jonson satirically expressed the vain disputes of di-

vines by 'Ignio Lanthorne,' disputing with his puppet in a Bartholomew fair. 'It is so;' 'It is not so:' 'It is so;' 'It is not so:' crying thus one to another a quarter of an hour together.

11. In matters of religion, to be ruled by one that writes against his adversary, and throws all the dirt he can in his face, is as if in point of good manners a man should be governed by one whom he sees at cuffs with another, and thereupon thinks himself bound to give the next man he meets a box on the ear.

12. It is to no purpose to labour to reconcile religions, when the interest of princes will not suffer it. It is well if they could be reconciled so far, that they should not cut one another's throats.

13. There is all the reason in the world divines should not be suffered to go a hair beyond their bounds, for fear of breeding confusion, since there be now so many religions on foot. The matter was not so narrowly to be looked after when there was but one religion in Christendom, the rest would cry him down for an heretic, and there was nobody to side with him.

14. We look after religion as the butcher did after his knife, when he had it in his mouth.

15. Religion is made a juggler's paper; now it is a horse, now it is a lanthorn, now it is a boar, now it is a man. To serve ends, religion is turned into all shapes.

16. Pretending religion and the law of God, is to set all things loose. When a man has no mind to do

something he ought to do by his contract with man, then he gets a text, and interprets it as he pleases, and so thinks to get loose.

17. Some men's pretending religion, is like the roaring boys' way of challenging, 'Their reputation is dear, it does not stand with the honour of a gentleman,' when, God knows, they have neither honour nor reputation about them.

18. They talk much of settling religion: religion is well enough settled already, if we would let it alone: methinks we might look after, &c.

19. If men would say they took arms for any thing but religion, they might be beaten out of it by reason; out of that they never can, for they will not believe you, whatever you say.

20. The very arcanum of pretending religion in all wars is, that something may be found out in which all men may have interest. In this the groom has as much interest as the lord. Were it for land, one has one thousand acres, and the other but one; he would not venture so far as he that has a thousand. But religion is equal to both. Had all men land alike, by a 'lex agraria,' then all men would say they fought for land.

SABBATH.

1. Why should I think all the fourth commandment belongs to me, when all the fifth does not? What land will the Lord give me for honouring my father? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the land

of Canaan; but the meaning is, if I honour my parents, God will also bless me. We read the commandments in the church-service, as we do David's Psalms, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does.

SACRAMENT.

1. CHRIST suffered Judas to take the communion. Those ministers that keep their parishioners from it, because they will not do as they will have them, revenge rather than reform.

2. No man can tell whether I am fit to receive the sacrament; for though I were fit the day before, when he examined me, at least appeared so to him; yet how can he tell what sin I have committed that night, or the next morning, or what impious atheistical thoughts I may have about me when I am approaching to the very table?

SALVATION.

1. WE can best understand the meaning of σωτηρία, Salvation, from the Jews, to whom the Saviour was promised. They held that themselves should have the chief place of happiness in the other world; but the Gentiles, that were good men, should likewise have their portion of bliss there too. Now, by Christ, the partition wall is broken down, and the Gentiles that believe in him are admitted to the same place of bliss with the Jews: and why then should not that portion of happiness still remain to them who do not believe

in Christ, so they be morally good? This is a charitable opinion.

STATE.

1. IN a troubled state, save as much for your own as you can. A dog had been at market to buy a shoulder of mutton; coming home, he met two dogs by the way that quarrelled with him; he laid down his shoulder of mutton, and fell to fighting with one of them; in the mean time the other dog fell to eating his mutton; he seeing that, left the dog he was fighting with, and fell upon him that was eating; then the other dog fell to eat. When he perceived there was no remedy, but which of them soever he fought withal, his mutton was in danger, he thought he would have as much of it as he could, and thereupon gave over fighting, and fell to eating himself.

SUPERSTITION.

1. THEY that are against superstition oftentimes run into it of the wrong side. If I will wear all colours but black, then am I superstitious in not wearing black.

2. They pretend not to abide the cross, because it is superstitious; for my part, I will believe them when I see them throw their money out of their pockets, and not till then.

3. If there be any superstition truly and properly so called, it is their observing the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.

SUBSIDIES.

1. HERETOFORE the parliament was wary what subsidies they gave to the king, because they had no account; but now they care not how much they give of the subjects' money, because they give it with one hand and receive it with the other; and so upon the matter give it themselves. In the mean time what a case the subjects of England are in; if the men they have sent to the parliament misbehave themselves, they cannot help it, because the parliament is eternal.

2. A subsidy was counted the fifth part of a man's estate, and so fifty subsidies is five and forty times more than a man is worth.

SIMONY.

1. THE name of simony was begot in the canon law; the first statute against it was in Queen Elizabeth's time. Since the reformation simony has been frequent. One reason why it was not practised in time of Popery, was the Pope's provision; no man was sure to bestow his own benefice.

SHIP-MONEY.

1. MR. Noy brought in ship-money first for maritime towns, but that was like putting in a little auger, that afterwards you may put in a greater. He that pulls down the first brick, does the main work; afterwards it is easy to pull down the wall.

2. They that at first would not pay ship-money till it was decided, did like brave men, (though perhaps they did no good by the trial) but they that stand out since, and suffer themselves to be distrained, never questioning those that do it, do pitifully, for so they only pay twice as much as they should.

SYNOD-ASSEMBLY.

1. We have had no national synod since the kingdom hath been settled, as now it is only provincial, and there will be this inconveniency, to call so many divines together; it will be to put power in their hands who are too apt to usurp it, as if the laiety were bound by their determination. No, let the laiety consult with divines on all sides, hear what they say, and make themselves masters of their reasons, as they do by any other profession, when they have a difference before them. For example, goldsmiths, they enquire of them if such a jewel be of such a value, and such a stone of such a value, hear them, and then, being rational men, judge themselves.

2. Why should you have a synod when you have a convocation already, which is a synod? Would you have a superfetation of another synod? The clergy of England, when they cast off the Pope, submitted themselves to the civil power, and so have continued; but these challenge to be 'Jure divino,' and so to be above the civil power. These challenge power to call before their presbyteries all persons for all sins directly against the law of God, as proved to be sins by neces-

sary consequence. If you would buy gloves, send for a glover or two, not Glover's-hall: consult with some divines, not send for a body.

3. There must be some laymen in the synod, to overlook the clergy, lest they spoil the civil work: just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milk-house to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the cat should eat up the cream.

4. In the ordinance for the assembly, the lords and commons go under the names of learned, godly, and judicious divines: there is no difference put betwixt them and the ministers in the context.

5. It is not unusual in the assembly to revoke their votes, by reason they make so much haste, but it is that will make them scorned. You never heard of a council revoked an act of its own making; they have been wary in that, to keep up their infallibility: if they did any thing, they took away the whole council, and yet we would be thought as infallible as any body.—It is not enough to say, the house of commons revoke their votes, for theirs are but civil truths which they by agreement create, and uncreate, as they please.—But the truths the synod deals in are divine, and when they have voted a thing, if it be then true, it was true before; not true because they voted it, nor does it cease to be true because they voted otherwise.

6. Subscribing in a synod, or to the articles of a synod, is no such terrible thing as they make it; because, if I am of a synod, it is agreed, either tacitly or expressly. That which the major part determines,

the rest are involved in, and therefore I subscribe, though my own private opinion be otherwise; and, upon the same ground, I may without scruple subscribe to what those have determined whom I sent, though my private opinion be otherwise, having respect to that which is the ground of all assemblies, the major part carries it.

THANKSGIVING.

1. At first we gave thanks for every victory as soon as ever it was obtained, but since we have had many now we can stay a good while. We are just like a child; give him a plum, he makes his leg; give him a second plum, he makes another leg: at last, when his belly is full, he forgets what he ought to do; then his nurse, or somebody else that stands by him, puts him in mind of his duty—'Where is your leg?'

TYTHES.

1. Tythes are more paid in kind in England than in all Italy and France. In France they have had impropriations a long time: we had none in England till Henry the eighth.

2. To make an impropriation, there was to be the consent of the incumbent, the patron, and the king; then it was confirmed by the Pope. Without all this the Pope could make no impropriation.

3. Or what if the Pope gave the tythes to any man,

must they therefore be taken away? If the Pope gives me a jewel, will you therefore take it away from me?

4. Abraham paid tythes to Melchizedeck, what then? it was very well done of him. It does not follow therefore that I must pay tythes, no more than I am bound to imitate any other action of Abraham's.

5. It is ridiculous to say the tythes are God's part, and therefore the clergy must have them: why, so they are if the layman has them. It is as if one of my Lady Kent's maids should be sweeping this room, and another of them should come and take away the broom, and tell for a reason why she should part with it—'It is my lady's broom'—as if it were not my lady's broom which of them soever had it.

6. They consulted in Oxford where they might find the best argument for their tythes, setting aside the 'Jus divinum;' they were advised to my history of tythes, a book so much cried down by them formerly, (in which I dare boldly to say, there are more arguments for them than are extant together any where). Upon this one writ me word, that my history of tythes was now become like Peleus's hasta, to wound and to heal. I told him in my answer, I thought I could fit him with a better instance. It was possible it might undergo the same fate that Aristotle, Avicen, and Averroes did in France, some five hundred years ago; which were excommunicated by Stephen, bishop of Paris, (by that very name excommunicated) because that kind of learning puzzled and troubled their divinity. But finding themselves at a loss, some forty

years after, (which is much about the time since I writ my history) they were called in again, and so have continued ever since.

TRADE.

1. There is no prince in Christendom but is directly a tradesman, though in another way than an ordinary tradesman. For the purpose, I have a man, I bid him lay out twenty shillings in such commodities, but I tell him, for every thing he lays out I will have a penny. I trade as well as he. This every prince does in his customs.

2. That which a man is bred up in, he thinks no cheating; as your tradesman thinks not so of his profession, but calls it a mystery. Whereas if you would teach a mercer to make his silks heavier than what he has been used to, he would peradventure think that to be cheating.

3. Every tradesman professes to cheat me, that asks for his commodity twice as much as it is worth.

TRADITION.

1. Say what you will against tradition, we know the signification of words by nothing but tradition.— You will say the scripture was written by the Holy Spirit, but do you understand that language it was written in? No. Then, for example, take these words, 'In principio erat verbum.' How do you know those words signify, 'In the beginning was the

word,' but by tradition, because somebody has told you so?

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

The fathers using to speak rhetorically brought up transubstantiation: as if, because it is commonly said, 'Amicus est alter idem,' one should go about to prove a man and his friend are all one. That opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic.

2. There is no greater argument, though not used, against transubstantiation, than the apostles at their first council forbidding blood and suffocation. Would they forbid blood, and yet enjoin the eating of blood too?

3. The best way for a pious man is to address himself to the sacrament with that reverence and devotion, as if Christ were really there present.

TRAITOR.

1. It is not seasonable to call a man a traitor that has an army at his heels. One with an army is a gallant man. My Lady Cotton was in the right, when she laughed at the Duchess of Richmond for taking such state upon her, when she could command no forces. 'She a duchess! there is in Flanders a duchess indeed!' meaning the arch-duchess.

TRINITY.

1. The second person is made of a piece of bread by the Papist, the third person is made of his own

frenzy, malice, ignorance, and folly, by the Round-head; to all these the spirit is intituled. One the baker makes, the other the cobler; and betwixt those two, I think the first person is sufficiently abused.

TRUTH.

1. The Aristotelians say, all truth is contained in Aristotle in one place or another. Galilaeo makes Simplicius say so, but shows the absurdity of that speech, by answering, all truth is contained in a lesser compass, viz. In the alphabet. Aristotle is not blamed for mistaking sometimes, but Aristotelians for maintaining those mistakes. They should acknowledge the good they have from him, and leave him when he is in the wrong. There never breathed that person to whom mankind was more beholden.

2. The way to find out the truth is by others' mistakings; for if I was to go to such a place, and one had gone before me on the right hand, and he was out; another had gone to the left-hand, and he was out; this would direct me to keep the middle way, that, peradventure, would bring me to the place I desired to go.

3. In troubled water you scan carce see your face, or see it very little, till the water be quiet and stand still. So in troubled times you can see little truth: when times are quiet and settled, then truth appears.

TRIAL.

1. Trials are by one of these three ways; by confession, or by demurrer, that is, confessing the fact, but denying it to be that wherewith a man is charged. For example, denying it to be treason, if a man be charged with treason; or by a jury.

2. Ordalium was a trial, and was either by going over nine red-hot ploughshares, (as in the case of Queen Emma, accused for lying with the Bishop of Winchester, over which she being led blindfold, and having passed all her irons, asked when she should come to her trial) or it was by taking a red-hot coulter in a man's hand, and carrying it so many steps, and then casting it from him. As soon as this was done, the hands or the feet were to be bound up, and certain charms to be said, and a day or two after to be opened; if the parts were whole, the party was judged to be innocent; and so on the contrary.

3. The rack is used no where as in England. In other countries it is used in judicature, when there is a 'Semiplena probatio,' a half proof against a man; then to see if they can make it full, they rack him if he will not confess. But here in England they take a man and rack him, I do not know why, nor when; not in time of judicature, but when somebody bids.

4. Some men, before they come to their trial, are cozened to confess upon examination: upon this trick they are made to believe somebody has confessed be-

fore them; and then they think it a piece of honour to be clear and ingenuous, and that destroys them.

UNIVERSITY.

1. The best argument why Oxford should have precedence of Cambridge, is the act of parliament, by which Oxford is made a body; made what it is; and Cambridge is made what it is; and in the act it takes place. Besides, Oxford has the best monuments to show.

2. It was well said of one, hearing of a history lecture to be founded in the university—'Would to God,' says he, 'they would direct a lecture of discretion there! this would do more good there an hundred times.'

3. He that comes from the university to govern the state, before he is acquainted with the men and manners of the place, does just as if he should come into the presence chamber all dirty, with his boots on, his riding coat, and his head all daubed: they may serve him well enough in the way, but when he comes to court he must conform to the place.

VOWS.

1. Suppose a man find by his own inclination he has no mind to marry, may he not then vow chastity? Answer. If he does, what a fine thing hath he done? It is as if a man did not love cheese, and then he would vow to God Almighty never to eat cheese. He that

vows can mean no more in sense than this; to do his utmost endeavour to keep his vow.

USURY.

1. The Jews were forbidden to take use one of another, but they were not forbidden to take it of other nations. That being so, I see no reason why I may not as well take use for my money as rent for my house. It is a vain thing to say, money begets not money, for that no doubt it does.

2. Would it not look oddly to a stranger that should come into this land, and hear in our pulpits usury preached against, and yet the law allow it? Many men use it, perhaps some churchmen themselves. No bishop nor ecclesiastical judge, that pretends power to punish other faults, dares punish, or at least does punish any man for doing it.

PIOUS USES.

1. The ground of the ordinary's taking part of a man's estate (who died without a will) to pious uses, was this; to give it somebody to pray, that his soul might be delivered out of purgatory, now the pious uses come into his own pocket. It was well expressed by John O'Powls in the play, who acted the priest; one that was to be hanged being brought to the ladder, would fain have given something to the poor; he feels for his purse, (which John O'Powls had picked out of his pocket before); missing it, cries out he had lost his purse: now he intended to have given some-

thing to the poor. John O'Powls bid him be pacified, for the poor had it already.

WAR.

1. Do not undervalue an enemy by whom you have been worsted. When our countrymen came home from fighting with the Saracens, and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible faces, (as you still see the sign of the Saracen's head is) when in truth they were like other men. But this they did to save their own credits.

2. Martial law in general means nothing but the martial law of this, or that place; with us to be used in 'Fervore belli,' in the face of the enemy, not in time of peace; there they can take away neither limb nor life. The commanders need not complain for want of it, because our ancestors have done gallant things without it.

3. Question. Whether may subjects take up arms against their prince? Answer. Conceive it thus: here lies a shilling betwixt you and me, ten pence of the shilling is your's, two pence is mine: by agreement, I am as much a king of my two-pence as you of your ten-pence: if you therefore go about to take away my two-pence, I will defend it, for there you and I are equal, both princes.

4. Or thus, two supreme powers meet; one says to the other, 'give me your land; if you will not, I will take it from you.' The other, because he thinks himself too weak to resist him, tells him, 'of nine parts I

will give you three, so I may quietly enjoy the rest, and I will become your tributary.' Afterwards the prince comes to exact six parts, and leaves but three; the contract then is broken, and they are in parity again.

5. To know what obedience is due to the prince, you must look into the contract betwixt him and his people; as if you would know what rent is due from the tenant to the landlord, you must look into the lease. When the contract is broken, and there is no third person to judge, then the decision is by arms.—And this is the case between the prince and the subject.

6. Question. What law is there to take up arms against the prince, in case he break his covenant?—Answer. Though there be no written law for it, yet there is custom, which is the best law of the kingdom; for in England they have always done it. There is nothing expressed between the King of England and the King of France; that if either invades the other's territory, the other shall take up arms against him, and yet they do it upon such an occasion.

7. It is all one to be plundered by a troop of horse, or to have a man's goods taken from him by an order from the council-table. To him that dies, it is all one whether it be by a penny halter or a silk garter; yet I confess the silk garter pleases more; and like trouts we love to be tickled to death.

8. The soldiers say they fight for honour; when the truth is they have their honour in their pocket.—

And they mean the same thing that pretend to fight for religion. Just as a parson goes to law with his parishioners; he says, for the good of his successors, that the church may not lose its right, when the meaning is to get the tythes into his own pocket.

9. We govern this war as an unskilful man does a casting-net; if he has not the right trick to cast the net off his shoulder, the leads will pull him into the river. I am afraid we shall pull ourselves into destruction.

10. We look after the particulars of a battle, because we live in the very time of war. Whereas of battles past we hear nothing but the number slain.— Just as for the death of a man; when he is sick, we talk how he slept this night, and that night, what he eat, and what he drunk; but when he is dead, we only say, he died of a fever, or name his disease; and there is an end.

11. Boccaline has this passage of soldiers, they came to Apollo to have their profession made the eighth liberal science, which he granted. As soon as it was noised up and down, it came to the butchers, and they desired their profession might be made the ninth: 'for,' say they, 'the soldiers have this honour for the killing of men; now we kill as well as they, but we kill beasts for the preserving of men, and why should not we have honour likewise done to us?' Apollo could not answer their reasons, so he reversed his sentence, and made the soldier's trade a mystery, as the butcher's is.

WITCHES.

1. The law against witches does not prove there be any, but it punishes the malice of those people that use such means to take away men's lives. If one should profess that by turning his hat thrice, and crying buz, he could take away a man's life; (though in truth he could do no such thing) yet this were a just law made by the state, that whosoever should turn his hat thrice, and cry buz, with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death.

WIFE.

1. He that hath a handsome wife by other men is thought happy; it is a pleasure to look upon her, and be in her company, but the husband is cloyed with her. We are never content with what we have.

2. You shall see a monkey sometimes, that has been playing up and down the garden, at length leap up to the top of the wall, but his clog hangs a great way below on this side; the bishop's wife is like that monkey's clog, himself is got up very high, takes place of the temporal barons, but his wife comes a great way behind.

3. It is reason a man that will have a wife should be at the charge of her trinkets, and pay all the scores she sets on him. He that will keep a monkey it is fit he should pay for the glasses he breaks.

WISDOM.

1. A WISE man should never resolve upon any thing, at least never let the world know his resolution, for if he cannot arrive at that, he is ashamed. How many things did the king resolve, in his declaration concerning Scotland, never to do, and yet did them all? A man must do according to accidents and emergencies.

2. Never tell your resolution before-hand; but when the cast is thrown, play it as well as you can to win the game you are at. It is but folly to study how to play size-ace, when you know not whether you shall throw it or no.

3. Wise men say nothing in dangerous times. The lion, you know, called the sheep to ask her if his breath smelled: she said, 'ay:' he bit off her head for a fool. He called the wolf, and asked him: he said 'no:' he tore him in pieces for a flatterer. At last he called the fox, and asked him: 'truly he had got a cold and could not smell.' King James was pictured, &c.

WIT.

1. WIT and wisdom differ; wit is upon the sudden turn, wisdom is in bringing about ends.

2. Nature must be the ground-work of wit and art; otherwise, whatever is done will prove but Jack-pudding's work.

3. Wit must grow like fingers: if it be taken from

others, it is like plums stuck upon black thorns; there they are for a while, but they come to nothing.

4. He that will give himself to all manner of ways to get money may be rich; so he that lets fly all he knows or thinks, may by chance be satirically witty. Honesty sometimes keeps a man from growing rich, and civility from being witty.

5. Women ought not to know their own wit, because they will still be shewing it, and so spoil it: like a child that will continually be shewing its fine new coat, till at length it all bedaubs it with its pah-hands.

6. Fine wits destroy themselves with their own plots, in meddling with great affairs of state. They commonly do as the ape that saw the gunner put bullets in the cannon, and was pleased with it, and he would be doing so too; at last he puts himself into the piece, and so both ape and bullet were shot away together.

WOMEN.

1. 'Let the women have power of their heads, because of the angels.' The reason of the words 'because of the angels' is this:—The Greek church held an opinion, that the angels fell in love with women. * This fancy St. Paul discreetly catches, and uses it as an argument to persuade them to modesty.

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* An opinion grounded upon that, Genesis 6. 'The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair.'

2. The grant of a place is not good by the canon law before a man be dead: upon this ground some mischief might be plotted against him in present possession, by poisoning, or some other way. Upon the same reason, a contract made with a woman during her husband's life was not valid.

3. Men are not troubled to hear a man dispraised, because they know, though he be naught, there is worth in oth[illegible]ut women are mightily troubled to hear any of them spo[illegible]n against, as if the sex itself were guilty of some unworthiness.

4. Women and princes must both trust somebody, and they are happy or unhappy according to the desert of those under whose hands they fall. If a man knows how to manage the favour of a lady, her honour is safe, and so is a prince's.

YEAR.

1. It was the manner of the Jews, if the year did not fall out right, but that it was dirty for the people to come up to Jerusalem, at the feast of the passover, or that their corn was not ripe for their first fruits, to intercalate a month, and so to have, as it were, two Februarys, thrusting up the year still higher, March into April's place, April into May's place, &c.—Whereupon it is impossible for us to know when our Saviour was born; or when he died.

2. The year is either the year of the moon, or the year of the sun; there is not above eleven days differ-

ence. Our moveable feasts are according to the year of the moon; else they should be fixed.

3. Though they reckon ten days sooner beyond sea; yet it does not follow their spring is sooner than our's; we keep the same time in natural things, and their ten days sooner and our ten days later in those things mean the self-same time; just as twelve sous in French are ten pence in English.

4. The lengthening of days is [illegible] suddenly perceived till they are grown [illegible]tty deal longer, because the sun, though it be in a circle, yet it seems for a while to go in a right line. For take a segment of a great circle especially, and you shall doubt whether it be straight or no. But when that sun is got past that line, then you presently perceive the days are lengthened. Thus it is in the winter and summer solstice, which is indeed the true reason of them.

5. The eclipse of the sun is when it is new moon, the eclipse of the moon when it is full. They say Dionysius was converted by the eclipse that happened at our Saviour's death, because it was neither of these, and so could not be natural.

ZEALOTS.

1. One would wonder Christ should whip the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and nobody offer to resist him, considering what opinion they had of him. But the reason was, they had a law, that whosoever did profane 'Sanctitatem Dei, aut templi,' the holiness of God, or the temple, before ten persons, it was

lawful for any of them to kill him, or to do any thing this side killing him, as whipping him, or the like.—And hence is was, that when one struck our Saviour before the judge, where it was not lawful to strike, (as it is not with us at this day) he only replies, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?' He says nothing against their smiting him, in case he had been guilty of speaking evil, that is blasphemy; and they could have proved it against him. They that put this law in execution were called zealots, but afterwards they committed many villanies.

THE END.

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